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Official Journal of the
American Sociological Society

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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

June
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Volume 10
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The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society



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THE AGES OF MAN

READ BAIN
Miami University

AGEING is a function of time; time is a function of motion. It is now a commonplace that time, space, energy, motion, mass, and volume are all reciprocally related variables which have meaning only in terms of man's sensory responses. These sensory responses are themselves highly variable, transitory, and subjective. They are incapable of being ordered, beyond the dubious generalizations of commonsense, except by the mediation of instrumentalized units "taken" to be identical and perdurable in time and space. We thus objectify subjective experience mainly by the arts of measurement.

If the ontological and epistemological implications of this are taken seriously, measurement never can be anything but proximate and relative since the measuring instruments themselves are constantly changing because of variations in temperature, pressure, electro-magnetic (internal energy-particle) forces, and perhaps because of the Einsteinian "shortening" and "lengthening" of the measuring devices. It is also true that the phenomena being measured and the measurers are also constantly changing. Thus it makes no difference what we are measuring: distance from A to B; time from Now to Then; mass; velocity; volume; veracity; values—all measurements are "tainted" with inaccuracy, partiality, relativity.

So we are forced to conclude that the

universe was never created, but is being created; it never *is*, or *was*—it always *is becoming*. We shall continue to deal with past, present, and future, with "exact" measurements, with "identical things," but never again can we regard anything as "absolute," as "given in the nature of things." Rather, they are "taken," as Dewey says; and always they must be taken with a grain of salt, with the recognition that we are "taking" them; that their validity is limited by the frame of reference and limits within which they are taken; that our "taking" is a matter of convenience and utility; that all such "takings" and the "findings" thus made possible are relative and proximate. The reason for this or that "taking," and the subsequent "findings" is man's itch to master his wilderness world: "Man is the measure—and measurer—of all things." When we say "all things are relative," we imply they are relative to man's sensory responses, and of course to his mental-emotional behavior which is merely one aspect of his sensory responses; they are also "relative" to all his purposes and projects in the most inclusive sense.¹

¹The "taking" of natural science cannot be entirely arbitrary. It is limited by the reaction possibilities of our senses (extended by instruments and habituation) to the (relatively) stable phenomena subject to observation. For fantasy, theology, "pure" mathematics, and verbal metaphysics

From this, the uncritical may conclude that the great Relativity Revolution leaves us about where we were before the sensate storm burst upon us, when God was in His Heaven and all was right with the world—absolutely *Right* and uppity-righteously *Absolute*. Second thought, however, or perhaps merely *thought*, must convince us that that dear old world is dead beyond recall. The gods are dead: whether they be gods with white whiskers and somewhat capricious smiles or gods with lightning in their eyes and thunderbolts in their vengeful hands. The Animistic Age of mysticism and miracles is ending: no more spirits; no more luck, fate, or fatalism, whether it be the fatalism of faith or despair; no more metaphysical euphemisms for the Powers of Darkness and Light; no more reifications of symbols and personification of concepts; no more Absolutes; no more Final Purposes, Plans, or First Causes.

Does this mean man's brief career must end on a note of negation, a beaten animal whimper of defeat and despair? Probably not, because the humanistic age of science is beginning. Man is beginning to conceive himself as an end in himself, as (within limits) the master of his fate. He is gaining the First Freedom—the one the great men forgot, the freedom to stand on his own feet, to think his own thoughts, to create and criticize his own methods, mores, and manners. This is the true freedom from fear—

such limitations do not exist or are less definite. Kant's "forms" seem to refer to the first statement; his noumena, to the second. See A. Boyajian, "A. A. Michelson Visits Immanuel Kant," *Scientific Monthly*, December, 1944. Kant's noumena seem to be verbal ghosts of Plato's "real ideas" which are ghosts of the imaginary "real" ghosts, spirits, souls, etc., of the Animistic Age. Such ideas appear to me to have the same kind of "reality" as phlogiston, ether, and $\sqrt{-1}$. The first two had temporary utility; $\sqrt{-1}$ is, and probably always will be, a useful, vital, beautiful idea. If noumena, ghosts, and souls ever had any utility, they lost it long ago and are ready for the oblivion that has overtaken phlogiston. The position of "Michelson" (pp. 448-450 *supra*) seems more sensible to me than the one attributed to Kant, but it is not wholly satisfactory.

not fear of war, famine, or disease—but freedom from the fear of fantasy-created gods, demons, devils, and spirits, fear of all the animistic entities created by the nightmarish imagination of childish man emerging from the brute. Now he is beginning to think courageously and scientifically about his own place and possible destiny in the world. No longer is he unfree to think of social phenomena as natural phenomena. He is beginning to put his thrice-riven world together again, to see that physical, biological, and cultural phenomena are all *natural*, all organically and interdependently interrelated and interactive. The myths and magic of man's social life are being replaced by the natural science of man's behavior. This is the "New World A-Coming," a new world created by a new kind of human being, the Second Age of Man in which the cortex will not be dominated by the gut.

These are the two ages of man in species-perspective. Until recently, and still for most of us most of the time, the species has been dominated mainly by its gut and its muscles; now the cortex seems to be coming of age. The forethought of the forebrain seems to be gaining on the afterthought of the animal hindbrain and autonomic system. *Corticanthropus scientis* should last at least as long as *Beasticanthropus animisticus* has endured. When man learns to think as easily and automatically as he now can feel and act in response to afferent stimuli, or more accurately, when his feeling, acting, and thinking are all smoothly and efficiently interrelated, there will be an acceleration and integration of culture which will make visionaries like Plato, Bacon, More, Bellamy, and Aldous Huxley seem very simple souls. Imagine a culture in which men are as literate in the language of *size* as they now are in the language of whimsy and quality. When all men read calculus as easily and eagerly as they now read the infantile fantasy of the current novel, the Second Age of Man will be at hand.

If one is enamored of the Mystic Three, being in bondage to the Trinity and the Triangle, he can take a cue from W. H.

Sheldon² and construct a triadic classification of the Ages of Man. First, there is the Endomorphic Viscerotonic Age: man the omnivorous Gut; primarily concerned with eating and propagating, with simple feeling and amiable sociability; the Golden Age of the Simple Savage and primary group felicity. Second, the Mesomorphic Somatonic Age: man the bulging Muscle; primarily concerned with action, fighting, dominating; the lust for power, the charismatic leader, paranoiac preacher, builder, promoter; the Present Age of the "Civilized" Man—secondary groups, pressure groups of go-getters, doers, free enterprisers, exploiters, heroes, führers, mighty men of valor, triumvirates, indispensable men. Third, the Ectomorphic Cerebrotonic Age: man the cerebrating Cortex; primarily concerned with thinking, all his senses keyed to high receptivity; the planner, the creator, the system-maker; the Age A-Coming in which balance, sobriety, and reason will blend art and science and action into a serene and noble culture of Man-far-removed-from-the-brute.

If one were impressed with the Harmony of the Seers, he might show that Sorokin's Ideational, Sensate, and Idealistic Trinity is similar to the three types of culture "adumbrated" above. Perhaps Sheldon "confirms" Sorokin. The similarities certainly are as great as those between Marshall, Pareto, Durkheim and Max Weber. This would be a simple job for some *wissenssoziologischer ideologe* or some exegetical historical sociologist to toss off some rainy afternoon and it might sound plausible if enough footnotes were added—and there probably would be plenty.

There is another class of Ages of man—the days of his years. This also is a function of time and motion and hence of space. "The passage of time" merely means we have measured individual and cultural growth and decay in units of time: the diurnal

rhythm, phases of the moon, seasons, or earth-around-sun. This is our Chronological Age. Shakespeare, bewitched by the lunar phase, divided man's life into the Seven Ages, which conform fairly well to the commonsense ages of infancy, childhood, adolescence, postadolescence, maturity, old age, and senility—still the lucky seven.

It is painfully obvious that some children—and adults—are "brighter" than others of the same age; they learn faster, learn more, remember better, and recall more quickly and more accurately. This commonsense observation bore no scientific fruit until 1905 when Alfred Binet invented a way to measure what we commonly call intelligence and formulated the concept of Mental Age. William Stern performed the simple operation of dividing mental age by chronological age and thus invented a precise index of relation and comparison, the well known and highly useful though often misused and misinterpreted I.Q. Binet defined the mental ages of idiocy, imbecility, and moronity. To these were soon added dull normality, normality, superiority, and genius. Thus the sacred seven still survives.

Binet is the Man to Remember—the Measurer. When the quantifier and the measurer appears, commonsense is transformed into science or else becomes obvious nonsense.

Commonsense also gave the cue for Biologic Age: a man is as old as he acts and feels, or as old as his arteries, or heart, or stomach, or bones, or glands, or eyes, or "ideas"—usually meaning his interest in the other sex. Medical lore is full of crude concepts of biologic age. In the second half of the nineteenth century, scientists like Élie Metchnikoff, Brown-Séquard, Weismann, Galton, Roux, and others, began to study ageing. In recent years, men like Miles, Minot, Carrel, T. W. Todd, E. J. Stieglitz, Cannon, Cowdry and Carlson stand out.³

There is no single man to remember here:

²W. H. Sheldon, *The Varieties of Human Physique*, 1940, and *The Varieties of Temperament*, 1942, New York: Harper and Brothers—two books no intelligent man can afford to miss.

³See the great work sponsored by the Macy Foundation and edited by E. V. Cowdry, *The Problems of Ageing*, 2d edition, Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1943.

all are scientists, all are measurers. They have laid a firm foundation for the new science of gerontology and the new science-art of geriatrics, although, to coin a quip, old age study is still in its infancy. Sheldon has found an apparent differential rate of ageing in the various somatotypes; it is known that different organ-systems age at differing rates in the same person; that the same organ may age at different rates in different periods of a person's life; and so on. Already enough is known to make it as silly to retire—or hire—a man without considering his biologic age as it is to assume that all men of equal chronological age have equal I.Q.'s.

The Man to Remember will appear when someone does for biologic age what Binet did for mental age. However, the biologic problem is more complicated since the various organ-systems have different ageing rates and they vary from person to person. Perhaps some one of them will be found as significant for *general* ageing as the I.Q. is for *general* intelligence.⁴ Perhaps the rate at which the red cells of the blood are regenerated would be such an index. This could be measured easily and may be closely related to the rate of decrease in the spongy-bone cells, which is a function of what T. Wingate Todd called "mineralization" of the bones, which may be related to parathyroid activity and vitamin D and calcium intake. Any of these, or all in relation, plus body type, may furnish useful indexes of biologic age. White cell behavior might be the cue, but there seems to be considerable consensus that the earlier idea that ageing is an aspect of pathology,

⁴What is "general" in what the general intelligence tests test is probably merely the ability to respond properly to symbols. This ability certainly involves more factors than "genetic intelligence" which probably consists of many factors such as reaction time, stability of conditioned neuro-muscular structures, permeability or responsiveness of cortical cells, as well as afferent and efferent cells, and especially those involved in speech, endocrine balance, body type, metabolic rate, and so on. We know that social conditioning, or culture, plays an important part, although it is difficult to tell just how this factor has operated in most cases.

or is a "disease," is not sound—but it may be. Since ageing involves a loss of ability to generate energy, it may be that loss of red cell regenerating ability would be a usable index of general aging of the organism. The real secret is probably hidden in the behavior of the plasma, which is a very complex and mysterious substance. It is not necessary that the index of the biologic age should answer all our questions. If one can be found that is as useful as the I.Q., it would be invaluable. The I.Q. is an index of limited scope—there are many kinds of intelligence which it does not measure—but it is very useful nonetheless. If we could find a B.Q. as good, it also would have many important practical applications.

Next comes Emotional Age. Again commonsense gives the cue: senility is "second childhood"; some chronological, mental, and biological adults have temper tantrums, irrational fears, equally irrational affections and hates, and poor judgment. Otherwise able scholars think their colleagues "have it in for them"; or are jealous of them; or "plagiarize" their works; or do not honor them with titles, footnotes, or priority; or criticize their ideas unfairly—or stupidly; and so on *ad nauseam*. On the other hand, many students are more mature emotionally than some of their learned teachers and not so learned parents.

Perhaps Freud deserves major credit for the concept of emotional age, but the man to remember, the measurer, has not yet appeared. Many people have been working at the problem with great diligence, mostly by the fairly successful Binet methods. So far, the results are not very encouraging. This may be because we have not clearly defined Emotional Age, or have been too much concerned with temperament, domination, submission, introversion, extraversion, and the diagnosis of possible psychopathic traits. No one, so far as I know, has set himself the rigorous task of defining, classifying, and measuring emotional age with the idea of deriving an E.Q. in relation to C.A., M.A., and B.A. The E.Q. would of course have to be called E.C.A.Q., E.M.A.Q., E.B.A.Q., re-

spectively. Perhaps just E.Q., meaning E.A. divided by C.A., would be good enough for a starter.

Probably some other approach than pencil-paper and interviewing is indicated. The Rorschach is something of a departure and Moreno's spontaneity testing and psychodrama techniques might be usable. Sheldon's constitutional analysis is a new and promising lead. I suspect the job cannot be done without the use of instruments to measure metabolic rate, endocrine balance, and polygraph responses. Drugs may also be useful.

Sorokin and Merton recently discussed social time and made the interesting suggestion that it probably antedated calendric time. They also suggest that apparently nonperiodic social phenomena in the calendric frame of reference might show marked periodicity in the frame of discontinuous social time.⁵ The idea of social time suggests Social Age, though the learned authors do not mention it specifically. However, nearly ten years earlier, another man did.

In a volume which deserves more attention than it has thus far received, C. M. Case discussed Social Age.⁶ The idea had been floating around for years in the great reservoir of commonsense from which so many scientific ideas are drawn. It is implicit in such phrases as social intelligence, social insight, understanding, social inadequacy, incompetence, maladjustment, bad habits, and perhaps crime. Case gives Pintner⁷ credit for the idea but Case certainly gives the idea more point. Attitude testing is an attempt to measure the kind of behavior implied by social age but it has many of the same shortcomings that were noted in the case of emo-

tional age. Chapin's Scale for Social Insight is an attempt to measure social intelligence, or one aspect of it, though no effort has been made to express the differential responses in terms of social age. However, this would seem to be a possible next step.⁸

Case sharpened the concept considerably by relating it to the degree of socialization. He noted four criteria of social immaturity: senseless noise, grabbing, squalling, and mussiness. These are characteristic forms of childish behavior but probably are indexes of emotional as well as social age. However, as he applies them to concrete social behavior, they probably can be regarded as indexes of social age. In their personal expression, they may indicate emotional age; in their social context, social age. He gives an impressive list of examples from current culture to illustrate his point, e.g., the unnecessary noise of the modern city, the grabbing exploitiveness of the profiteer, crowd and national violence, the messiness of picnickers and crowds in general. One could easily extend the list: young children are dirty, whiners, smashers, improvident, wasteful, thoughtless of the future, physically violent, liars, poor reasoners. Compare these traits with public toilets, people who blame others for their own faults, students who cut up chairs in classrooms, destruction of natural resources, war-makers, lawyers and politicians who lie, people who neither recognize nor respect facts. People who exhibit such traits in their personal and interpersonal relations are emotionally immature; when they do so in their social relations, they are socially infantile.

Growing up, becoming adult, demands that we recognize the rights and roles of others,

⁵ Pitirim A. Sorokin and Robert K. Merton, "Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1937, pp. 615-629.

⁶ Clarence March Case, *Social Process and Human Progress*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931, esp. chapters VII and VIII. He had clearly defined the concept as early as 1928: "Social Imbecility and Social Age," *Sociology and Social Research*, January-February, 1928, pp. 218-242.

⁷ Rudolph Pintner, *Intelligence Testing*, Henry Holt, New York, 1923, 182-184.

⁸ F. Stuart Chapin, "Preliminary Standardization of a Social Insight Scale," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1942, pp. 214-228, Comment by George A. Lundberg. It might appear that this sort of a scale measures emotional age as well as social intelligence. One might conceivably get a high score on this scale but show little social insight in actual situations, and vice versa; or one might have marked social insight and low social intelligence, or vice versa; or the two may show high positive correlation. More research will tell.

inhibit antisocial impulses, get some cortical control of the gut, see the interrelations and mutual dependence of all classes, creeds, colors, and sexes. Our attitudes and behavior toward Negroes, Jews, women, hillbillies, working men, labor leaders, and many low-status but important and necessary occupations are evidence of retarded social intelligence.

There may appear to be considerable overlapping between emotional and social age, but a man may exhibit high social intelligence and yet be emotionally infantile, or vice versa. Consider an eminent psychiatrist who is progressive and rational in his social views and actions, but who has temper tantrums: social maturity; emotional immaturity. Or consider the college student whose mental, biological, and emotional ages are equal to his chronological age: he is a good mixer, has no marked neurotic or psychotic traits, has a good sense of humor, normal morality, and a well-balanced emotional life; but he thinks Negroes are "naturally" inferior to whites, thinks it proper to make all the money he can, swallows political palaver, takes advertising seriously, believes "what you can get away with is all right." So he cuts up the chairs in the classroom and yells like a banshee on the slightest provocation. Such behavior surely indicates some degree of social immaturity.

We have found only five ages of man. The mystic seven is missing but we can easily supply it by selecting seven kinds of Social Age: Aesthetic, Economic, Familial, Political, Recreational, Religious, and Scientific. We could ascribe seven degrees of age to each—from infancy to senility, or from idiocy to genius. What is needed most is a Man to Remember, a Measurer, a maker of standardized scales for measuring the degrees of social age in each of these seven (or more or less) categories. Most of us would probably show as marked differences in these social ages as we do in biological, mental, and emotional age. If Sheldon's 60-item scale for temperament (20 each for viscerotonia, somatotonia, and cerebrotonia) proves to be adequate, it is possible that a 210-item scale (30 each for the seven

categories) might be discriminative enough to give us *general* (total) S. A., with a separate index for each of the seven categories. Such a scale is very convenient but it would suffer from all the defects of attitude scales unless a definite correlation were found between verbal response and overt behavior. Unfortunately, the actual behavior of people does not always correspond to their verbal responses.

Perhaps we shall sometime define normality as an indicated score, plus or minus some tolerated amount, on scales which measure our mental, biological, emotional, and social ages, with the seven or seventeen varieties of the latter, in relation to our chronological age. We need a reliable and valid S.Q. as well as a specific S-A.Q., S-E.Q., S-F.Q., and so on through the list.

The Five Ages discussed above are functions of time and all time is a mass-motion-in-space correlative. Such motion can no longer be conceived as rectilinear and uniform. The alleged difference between the discontinuous continuum of social time and the continuous continuum of calendar time is thus untenable: the only difference is one of degree. Einstein's clock-synchronizing difficulties, curvilinear space, the difference between arithmetic and calculus solutions of problems involving motion, the quantum theory of radiation, subatomic mechanics, the problem of the Three Bodies, the cinematic succession of still pictures that simulate "natural" motion, etc., all illustrate the fact that apparent uniform rectilinear motion is actually a succession of jerks and impulses. This makes all time a succession of jerks, not just social time, as Sorokin and Merton claim. Time, whether calendric or social, is a succession of discontinuities in a frame of reference. The need for these Five Ages arises precisely because we are concerned with five different frames of reference. The discontinuities of development within and between them make the five categories useful and therefore meaningful. Basic to all of them is the norm of chronological time. The deviations from the expected mental, biological, emotional, and social age at a given chronological age generate the need for the five

ages and gives them meaning and utility. Theoretically, any one of the five could serve equally well as the base for reference but it is improbable that we ever shall depart from the calendar frame of reference. Einstein's "taking," or accepting, the "absolute" velocity of light as the "constant" upon which to base his general theory of relativity (by means of the "fiction" (?) of the shortening and lengthening of measuring rods) is perhaps somewhat similar. Newton's concepts of "absolute" space, motion, time, and the "luminiferous ether" is another case in point.

The utility of these five ages of man depends upon the development of adequate measurement so we can show accurately the

differential rates of development and adjustment in the five categories, perhaps make predictions of subsequent divergence and convergence, and possibly devise educational and therapeutic techniques to lessen the first and increase the second. We need to center our attention primarily on emotional and social age.

The disappearance of animistic goblinism and its derivatives and the development of natural science methods and modes of thinking, feeling, and acting with reference to cultural phenomena will play an indispensable part in actualizing the possibilities of what I have called the Second Age of Man in Species-Perspective.

RECENT AMERICAN STUDIES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR: A SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

HUGH CARTER

University of Pennsylvania

NUMEROUS studies in war attitudes have been published in recent years, particularly since 1931. What are the findings of these studies and what may one conclude regarding the methods employed in making them? Before summarizing the findings a brief statement will be made regarding the methods used. (This review does not discuss the polling techniques or the results of the widely quoted polls.) The methods most widely used in studying attitudes toward war stem from the Thurstone (55) (56)¹ equal-appearing-interval technique, and the tests most frequently employed assume that attitude-toward-war can be measured along a single linear scale. When the subject is tested he indicates his agreement or disagreement with various statements about war. The median of endorsed statements gives the war-attitude score.

The term "attitude" has brought forth considerable controversy, and so far as "attitude tests" are concerned it is frequently suggested that "opinion tests" would be a

preferable term. This is not the place for a detailed review of this controversy; the present article uses "attitude" wherever the author being reviewed uses it to avoid the confusion of constantly shifting terms. Nelson (38) in a comprehensive review of the literature in 1939 concludes that "An attitude may be considered a felt disposition arising from the integration of experience and innate tendencies which disposition modifies in a general way the response to psychological objects." Fuson (19) emphasizes the operational and measurable aspect in his definition: "An attitude is the probability of the occurrence of a defined behavior (or social action) in a defined situation." Thurstone (42) indicates that an attitude is "the degree of affect about a psychological object" and further that the "strength of this affect which may be positive or negative is the trait measured by the attitude scale." On the other hand, it is maintained by MacIver (33) that attitudes cannot be measured because of the complexity of the individual and social processes involved. His definition is: "By attitude we mean a definite state or quality of consciousness, in-

¹Numbers indicate references listed at end of article.

volving a tendency to act in a characteristic way whenever an object or occasion which simulates it is presented." And further, "When we attribute an attitude to a person, such as love or fear or pity, we do not completely express the state of consciousness so described—the integral attitude is too complex for such summary description" (p. 44). In a representative list of attitudes MacIver includes "envy" "devotion" "scorn" "patronage" "pity" "suspicion" "helpfulness." These opposing formulations of Thurstone and MacIver, appeared in 1930 and 1931. On the one hand MacIver finds attitudes too complex to be measured while Thurstone finds that at least one aspect of an attitude can be measured and located at a precise point on a straight line. These varying points of view are significant in connection with the studies of attitudes toward war. The inconclusive results of some of the studies here reviewed stem from the confusion regarding the nature of attitudes.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDIES OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR

The findings of the studies may be summarized by the groups tested. While most of the studies relate to college students there were also tests of high school students and of other groups.

College students. In general, the college students tested before the entrance of the United States into the war were mildly pacifistic or strongly pacifistic. Using either the Peterson (39) or Droba (5) form of the Thurstone scale Pihlblad (40) found his group mildly opposed to war; Dudycha (12) reported 69 per cent moderately opposed to war and 18 per cent strongly opposed to war; Sappenfield (45) gave moderately opposed to war as the mean score of his group; Reed (41) reported his group as a whole strongly opposed to war. Dudycha (11) gave summary tables of 42 tests of college students between 1930 and 1941. Some of the investigators had used the Peterson scale and others the Droba scale. Group averages on the Peterson scale ranged from 3.50 to 4.05 or "moderately opposed to war." Averages on the Droba scale ranged from 6.23 to

7.51 or "mildly pacifistic" to "strongly pacifistic."²

Katzoff and Gilliland (27) tested students' attitudes toward participation in the war during 1941. These data were reported by sex, fraternity vs. non-fraternity, high vs. low intelligence, Jewish vs. Christian religions. The only significant difference observed was in religion with the Jewish group more disposed to participation than the non-Jewish group. This difference was brought into some question by a comparison of two groups, one in Northwestern University and the other in Brooklyn, with the Brooklyn group resembling the distribution of the non-Jewish group at Northwestern.

Smith (47) tested 555 college subjects in 1932 using questionnaires with 48 items. A marked pacifist trend was evident. One question, with percentage replies, follows: "If called upon to bear arms in war I would declare myself a conscientious objector." True, 33 per cent; false, 41 per cent; doubtful or omitted, 26 per cent.

A number of groups of college students were retested later in their college careers. In general, there was a slight shift in the direction of greater pacifism. Farnsworth (16) reported 1932 freshmen showed a slight shift toward greater pacifism as sophomores and juniors. Smith (48) (49) tested 17 elementary sociology classes between 1932 and 1942 at the beginning and end of the course, using the Droba scale, form A at the beginning of the course and form B at the end of the course. There was a general shift toward greater pacifism. Corey (2) found women students, tested in 1934, had by 1935 shifted slightly further toward the pacifistic position. Katzoff and Gilliland (26) prepared a Thurstone-type test on participa-

²The Droba (5) and Peterson (39) scales are so constructed that high scores on one scale have the opposite meaning of high scores on the other scale. Droba gives the following interpretation of scale values of 6.0 or more: 6.0-6.9 Mildly pacifistic; 7.0-7.9 Strongly pacifistic; 8.0-11.0 Extremely pacifistic. On the Peterson scale "opposition to war" falls at the other end of the scale. Peterson gives the following interpretation of scale values of 4.0 or less: 3.0-4.0 Moderately opposed to war; 0.0-2.9 Strongly opposed to war.

tion in the war and used it in tests with 16 groups of college students over a twelve month period in 1940-1941. One important finding was that there were two distinct groups, the isolationists and the interventionists, with only slight overlapping between them. Average results based on this bimodal distribution were misleading. At the same time, it was pointed out that there was a substantial shift toward greater interventionism.

Kuhlen (29) using a different approach, gave five tests of attitudes toward various countries during a period of one year beginning in December 1939. Tests called for countries to be placed in five groups ranging from those most approved, which rated +20 to those most disapproved, which rated -20. The most disapproved countries (Germany, Japan, Russia, Italy and Spain) showed slight change during the period, though disapproval of Japan increased while that of Russia decreased. Foreign countries most approved (Canada, Netherlands, Finland, Norway, Great Britain, and Switzerland) shifted with the fortunes of war. Great Britain dropped steadily until the early summer of 1940 when its rating was 5.4 but by late November 1940 after the German air blitz on London, the rating stood at 14.0.

Day and Quackenbush (4) prepared a Thurstone-type test of attitudes toward three hypothetical types of war: defensive, co-operative, aggressive. The test was given to male students in 1938 or 1939. The percentage of students strongly favoring each type of war follows: defensive war, 74 per cent; co-operative war, 33.9 per cent; aggressive war, 11 per cent. The average scores on this test showed a similar trend.

Dudycha (10) (11) (12) (13) tested and retested college students between 1937 and 1942 using the Peterson scale. Of the 1937 and 1938 freshmen 12 to 14 per cent were strongly opposed to war while two years later this proportion had risen to 23 to 25 per cent of the same groups. About 60 per cent of the students remained in the same general attitude category for the two years while the remaining 40 per cent were fairly evenly divided between those who

shifted toward greater or less pacifism. The 1940 freshmen shifted significantly away from the pacifist end of the scale by 1942, the respective averages being 3.81 and 4.41.

Ericksen (15) tested college students in 1940 and retested them in 1941 using the Peterson scale. He points to the extraordinary uniformity of results in both years and notes that practically all subjects scored "moderately opposed to war." While the average scores show marked uniformity a detailed study of replies to the 20 items of the Peterson scale did not show this same uniformity. The percentage of students endorsing items indicating war as necessary rose between the two test periods. Ericksen also used a supplementary questionnaire dealing with specific questions of war policy, such as desirability of aid to the Allies, and noted shifts in replies between the two periods. Ericksen (15A) again tested college students in 1942 with the Peterson scale and noted no significant differences in mean scores, but an analysis of the individual items endorsed showed shifts in thinking about war.

Jones (23) (24) (25) carried out a comprehensive series of tests and retests of college students between 1930 and 1941, using the Droba scale. Finding a small but significant difference between the class averages of the two forms of the scale Jones guarded against this source of error by using Form A exclusively in his tests. He found, in general, that prior to 1936 freshmen averaged about 6.8 and were mildly pacifistic, becoming more so as they moved through college, so that seniors with averages about 7.4 were significantly more pacifistic. When seniors were divided by major subject the natural sciences group had the highest scores (greatest pacifism) while students of history and geography were least pacifistic. Incidentally, tests of the faculty members of these departments showed different results when compared to the student groups, with the natural sciences having a significantly lower score than history and geography. After 1936, and before November 1941, the student scores showed slightly less pacifism, with freshmen 6.6 and seniors 6.7. After

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Pearl Harbor freshman scores showed no change while seniors showed an insignificant change of .32.

Jones also used his own scale of 26 items to measure attitudes toward war, but not as measured along one theoretical attitude continuum, as in the Thurstone scales, but along several lines. The questions tested war attitudes as affected by considerations falling in categories,—economic, political, humanitarian, idealistic, and defense of country. Using this test in September and December, 1941 (after the Pearl Harbor attack), the resulting shifts were marked. To the statement, "The U. S. should refuse to go to war regardless of any apparent losses which seem imminent at the time when she is tempted to fight," 38 per cent gave approval in September and 10 per cent in December.

Duffy (9) tested the war attitudes of parents and their college attending daughters, using the Droba scale. While parents were mildly pacifistic the daughters were in general strongly pacifistic. T'an (54) prepared a Thurstone-type test for use with Chinese students. The results (as summarized in *Psychological Abstracts*) indicated that 65.3 per cent of the subjects came near to approval of war.

Tests of other groups. Middleton and Fay (34) (35) used the Peterson scale to test high school children and children resident in institutions for delinquents. The groups showed averages in the area labeled "moderately opposed to war." Differences in the group averages were slight. Droste and Seyfert (8) used the Droba scale to test military secondary school graduates and seniors in a non-military academy. Both groups had averages mildly pacifistic. Moore (37) analyzed over 3,000 questionnaires from third and fourth year high school students and found, as reported in 1935, a strong pacifist trend.

Stump and Lewis (53) reported in 1935 upon a test of 80 ministers, using the Droba scale. They found the great majority strongly pacifistic. Stagner (50), using a scale prepared by himself and others, reported upon war attitudes of a miscellaneous adult group tested in 1938. The seven-point Stagner war

scale ranges from 1. "The evils of war are greater than any possible benefits," to 7. "War is often the only means of preserving national honor." Another item in the scale: "Those who profit by war profit by the preparation for war." He reported men under 40 to be more opposed to war than men over 40. There was a more favorable attitude toward war by individuals with military training, with membership in veterans' groups and in conservative political parties than by individuals lacking such training or membership. Most of the reported differences were small.

Lorge (32) reported upon tests of 25 individuals 40 years of age and over and a comparable group aged 20-25 years. Education ranged from sixth grade to Ph.D. Scores on the Peterson scale were calculated in several different ways as part of a study of the reliability and consistency of various scoring techniques. The group averages according to standard scoring methods (the mean of the medians) showed the younger group more pacifistic than the older group. The younger group were "strongly opposed to war" while the older group were "moderately opposed to war."

Social scientists' opinions on the prevention of war were reported by a questionnaire of 59 items submitted to 375 individuals by Stagner, Brown, Gundlach and White (51). The same writers (52) reported opinions on prevention of war of a miscellaneous group of the general public based upon a 15-item questionnaire. From the social scientists 38 per cent returned usable replies. Greatest favor as war prevention insurance went to such items as stressing the economic fallacies involved in aggressive nationalism, reducing tariffs and other economic barriers, teaching propaganda analysis, emphasizing clarity in use of such words as patriotism, fascism, communism. Opinions of the general public were based upon a 29 per cent return from 8,000 questionnaires distributed by psychologists, WPA educational directors, and various other individuals. In general, this miscellaneous group showed less enthusiasm than the social scientists for tariff reduction, but about the same support

for educating children to be internationally minded. It was reported that higher education decreased nationalism.

Doob (7) reported upon war reactions in a small rural Canadian community, in 1940, using the participant-observer method. He questioned 63 individuals and concluded that war attitudes vary with the society, culture, perceptions, and personality differences. He reported that shortly after his arrival he was mistaken for a spy, but "Through documents in his possession he was able to convince the police that he was not a spy and to secure permission to continue to interview." With such evidence of lack of rapport one may question his conclusion that the rumor "did not interfere appreciably with the research." Rosander (44) reporting upon one phase of a larger study involving extensive interviews with individuals aged 16 through 24 indicated that war attitudes changed little during these years. To the statement "War is needless and preventable" 55 per cent of the boys and 67 per cent of the girls voiced agreement.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

In interpreting the results of these tests of attitudes toward war a statement will be made regarding the methods employed, especially the Thurstone-type tests utilized. This will be followed by comment on the implications of this experience in studying attitudes.

The most extensively used tests of war attitudes are those of Droba and Peterson, edited by L. L. Thurstone and copyrighted 1930 and 1931 respectively. Droba (6) gives an account of the preparation of his scale, originally labeled "militarism-pacifism" and issued in modified form as "attitude toward war." He states: "The term 'militarism-pacifism' is used to specify a particular attitude. In a very broad sense it denotes a predisposition to act with reference to the issue of war vs. peace. . . . The statements cover the following topics in the field: causes of war, purposes of war, results of war and peace, what is to be done at the present time about war and peace, what is to be done in case of war, and general

judgments about peace and war" (p. 96). Droba used 130 statements on these diverse subjects and had them sorted into 11 groups, ranging from extreme militaristic to extreme pacifistic, by 225 college students, later to be checked by other students. The median scale value for each statement was determined graphically. The published scales, forms A and B, each of 22 questions were presumed to be interchangeable.

One criticism of the Droba scale advanced by certain scholars who have used it is that the two forms are not comparable. Traxler (57) in 1935 tested five high school classes with both forms, one following the other. For every class, form "B" gave a higher score (more pacifistic) than form "A." The averages for all the groups were: "A" 7.1, "B" 7.7. Traxler further reported that in using the seven steps Droba gives for interpreting the scale, 60 per cent of the pupils shifted one or more steps in filling out the two forms. Jones (25) who has made prolonged use of the Droba scale, reported the two forms noncomparable. In his studies Jones has concentrated on form "A."

Another reported weakness of the Droba scale is the fact that the subject frequently indicates agreement with statements having widely different scale values. Jones (25) asked a large number of students why they checked certain widely spaced items. The replies indicated that the item merely stated a fact, or was merely an ideal, or it agreed with the subject's thinking, or that it was a toothless and innocuous statement.

The Peterson scale has been criticized by a number of writers. Miller (36) in 1934 pointed to the marked differences in the number of approvals by subjects of items with closely related scale values. In one group of students item 8 ("I never think about war and it doesn't interest me") with scale value of 5.5, was approved by only 24 students in a population of 290, while near-by items 16 and 11 with scale values of 6.5 and 4.7 were approved by 191 and 210 students respectively. Miller also reported a notable scatter in the items checked, with 74 per cent of the subjects checking at least one half of the items. He suggested

that the scale values assigned by judges be considered tentative and these be checked against the scores of large populations.

Ericksen (15) points out that this scale is skewed, with the modal response near one end of the scale, thus permitting only slight variation except in one direction. He concluded that this Peterson scale tended to obscure differences resulting from variations in social and economic background.

Dudycha (10), after six years of testing and retesting college students with the Peterson scale reaches similar conclusions regarding its weaknesses. He reported that while most of the students fell in the "moderately opposed to war" group the variation in scale value of endorsed statements was great. He analyzed the scatter of endorsed statements and reported that more than one third of the scale was covered by the average student. A detailed examination of endorsements by individual students with highest and lowest scores frequently showed endorsements of statements ranging from "strongly favorable" to "strongly opposed." Dudycha questioned the value of medians derived from such widely scattered endorsements, and indicated that scales should be built to measure "attitudes-toward-war" rather than single "attitude-toward-war."

A fundamental defect with the Droba and Peterson scales is the attempt to arrange on one linear scale statements about a number of different topics. Thus the Peterson scale "A" gives the highest value to item 15, "War is glorious." If one seeks the exact opposite of this statement to place at the other end of the scale it would seem to be "War is Hell." The mid-point of such a scale would then be "war is 50 per cent glory, 50 per cent Hell." Intermediate points would give varying percentages of glory and Hell. On the Peterson scale, however, the opposite extreme of "War is glorious" is "There is no conceivable justification for war," and the mid-point is "I never think about war and it doesn't interest me." It is difficult to think of these statements as falling along a straight line. As to the Droba scale, his own statement (6) quoted elsewhere and indicating six different topics covered by the state-

ments is sufficient comment on the non-linearity of the scale.

While the present discussion concerns only war attitudes it seems probable that the same weakness frequently applies to other Thurstone scales. This is indicated by Thurstone's detailed defense of his attitude scales made after several of them had been issued, and had been subjected to considerable criticism. Thurstone (55) defends the inclusion of the following statements in one scale: "I find the services of the church both restful and inspiring"; and "I think the church is a divine institution." His defense follows: "One of the statements concerns the effects of the church service on the individual subject. The other expresses a belief in the divine character of the church. Considered objectively and logically there should be no necessary correspondence between these two statements. They are declarations about totally different things, objectively regarded. But among all the people who endorse the first statement there will be a large proportion who also endorse the second statement. That which these objectively entirely different statements have in common is the postulated favorable affect of the subject toward the psychological object, the church. To the extent that such consistencies in endorsements can be found we are justified in postulating a common core and in naming it" (55, p. 266).

This same line of reasoning, clearly fallacious in the view of the present writer, could be applied to the attitude-toward-war scales. For one's attitude, or opinion, regarding the economic results of war ("The benefits of war rarely pay for its losses even for the victor") clearly falls along one scale ranging from great benefits to great losses, while the ethical aspects of war ("Defensive war is justified but other wars are not") falls along another scale ranging from the view that all war activity is unethical to the view that all war activity is ethical. The inconclusive results following the extensive work in applying the Thurstone attitude-toward-war scales is related to the original confusion in grouping statements that belong on different scales.

Much of the prestige of the Thurstone attitude scales has rested upon the supposition that the attitudes of the judges rating various statements entering into a given scale is unimportant. Evidence has been advanced, as by Henderson (20), to support the view that the judges' place of residence, occupation, political opinions (all within broad limits) do not affect the sorting of statements into eleven piles ranging from most favorable to least favorable. Thurstone (55) cited the construction of a scale concerning the Negro, with the sorting of statements by three groups of judges, group one being favorable to the Negro, group two unfavorable, and group three a number of educated Negroes. On the results of this experiment he stated: "The result was that the three scales so constructed were practically identical, thus proving that the attitudes of the judges have no serious effect on the measuring function of the statement scale."

New light is thrown upon this question by recent research. Farnsworth (17) reports a restandardization of the Peterson scale during 1940-1941, using the same method employed ten years earlier. Significant changes in the item weights were obtained for 11 of the 20 items. The shifts of two items in the pacifist direction amounted to a full point or more of the eleven point scale. These statements with old and new medians are: "War has some benefits; but it's a big price to pay for them" medians: (old) 6.9, (new) 5.9; "International disputes should be settled without war" medians: (old) 3.7, (new) 2.4. The test was given to a group of students and scored by the old weights and the new. Applying the old weights the mean of the medians was 3.78, while the new weights gave 3.09, a sizeable shift along the scale in the pacifist direction. Farnsworth concludes: "The picture that the 1930-1940 war-item shift gives is that of a more militaristic ideology" (17, p. 127). This same question of the supposed independence of the judge's judgment from his own attitudes was raised by Rice (42) in 1930.

The restandardization of the Peterson scale provides substantial evidence of sig-

nificant shifts in item weights over a ten-year period. And one is led to inquire, if there are shifts *in time* because of a more militaristic ideology, would there not be shifts *in space* because of a more militaristic ideology? During the year 1940, according to numerous observers, New York City was more war-minded than Chicago. If true, would it not be reasonable to expect judges selected at random in New York to give different scale values from judges similarly selected in Chicago? Furthermore, within any community some individuals are more militaristic than others and could be expected, therefore, to give different item weights. It is evident that there is urgent need for a thoroughgoing re-examination of the supposed independence of the judge's attitudes and values from his judgment in rating items for an attitude scale. One approach to this problem would lie in selecting judges who constituted a representative cross-section of the population to be tested by the scale. This would constitute a problem in sampling of great complexity.

Brief comment may be made regarding other scales and techniques used to measure attitudes toward war, either through improving existing techniques or developing new ones. When the test is directed to attitudes toward various types of war, such as war that is defensive, co-operative, or aggressive, as carried out by Day and Quackenbush (4), one major difficulty arises. All modern wars are defensive wars to the propagandists of every major country carrying on war activity. Thus in a country at war the test would be meaningless.

The questionnaire approach used by Smith (47) is useful. In the study in question one is led to speculate about the 33 per cent of the tested group that declared itself to be in the conscientious objector class. There is, of course, an inevitable disparity between the paper and pencil indicator of war attitudes and the behavior of the individual in a war situation.

Dunlap and Kroll (14) used the Kelley-Remmers "Generalized attitude scale for any institution," placing the word "war" in each statement. Whatever this scale measured it

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was quite different from the Peterson-Thurstone scale, for the two correlated only .28. Riker (43) developed two simplified forms of attitude scales that could be applied to a wide variety of subjects. One of these is a graphic self-rating scale, ranging from "extremely in favor" to "extremely opposed"; the other an intensity of feeling scale ranging from "very intense feeling pro" to "very intense feeling anti." Preliminary testing of the scales indicates favorable possibilities for their further use. Fromme (18), studying opinions on methods of preventing war, utilized a variety of interview techniques, requiring from four to seven hours with each subject, and illustrating the great complexity of the opinion (or attitude) structure.

Cuber and Pell (3) have developed a method of studying social attitudes through presenting a description of concrete situations and actions and asking the subjects whether such actions are right or wrong. Jones (21) (22) applied the test to 888 subjects with encouraging results. This test does not relate to war attitudes but the same approach could be employed in this area.

Allport and Hanchett (1) developed an elaborate scale for measuring the war producing behavior of citizens that occur in certain imagined situations. The subject was asked to consider, successively, such concrete situations as a threat to seize U. S. foreign possessions, or a threat of political subjugation. With one of these situations in mind he indicated whether he would refuse to bear arms, sign a petition urging firmness, take part in a raiding expedition, etc. In constructing this scale the writers avoided the "third-personalized approach" and substituted a "telic continuum." The statements were rated successively on the basis of 1. interest, 2. effort, and 3. effect.

Kirkpatrick (28) concludes that the reliability of a scale probably increases at the expense of validity. LaPiere (30) and Farnsworth (31) point out that there is no necessary correlation between what people say and what they do; that symbolic and non-symbolic activities are learned by different processes, and that a direct study of

such non-symbolic activities as those connected with war are difficult if not impossible.

The structure of social attitudes regarding war, or any other major aspect of culture, is extraordinarily complex, as sociologists, anthropologists and others have long emphasized. Properly constructed scales may be useful in exploring this area, especially if combined with other methods. It is evident, however, that no definitive method for the analysis of social attitudes has yet been devised.

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was quite different from the Peterson-Thurstone scale, for the two correlated only .28. Riker (43) developed two simplified forms of attitude scales that could be applied to a wide variety of subjects. One of these is a graphic self-rating scale, ranging from "extremely in favor" to "extremely opposed"; the other an intensity of feeling scale ranging from "very intense feeling pro" to "very intense feeling anti." Preliminary testing of the scales indicates favorable possibilities for their further use. Fromme (18), studying opinions on methods of preventing war, utilized a variety of interview techniques, requiring from four to seven hours with each subject, and illustrating the great complexity of the opinion (or attitude) structure.

Cuber and Pell (3) have developed a method of studying social attitudes through presenting a description of concrete situations and actions and asking the subjects whether such actions are right or wrong. Jones (21) (22) applied the test to 888 subjects with encouraging results. This test does not relate to war attitudes but the same approach could be employed in this area.

Allport and Hanchett (1) developed an elaborate scale for measuring the war producing behavior of citizens that occur in certain imagined situations. The subject was asked to consider, successively, such concrete situations as a threat to seize U. S. foreign possessions, or a threat of political subjugation. With one of these situations in mind he indicated whether he would refuse to bear arms, sign a petition urging firmness, take part in a raiding expedition, etc. In constructing this scale the writers avoided the "third-personalized approach" and substituted a "telic continuum." The statements were rated successively on the basis of 1. interest, 2. effort, and 3. effect.

Kirkpatrick (28) concludes that the reliability of a scale probably increases at the expense of validity. LaPiere (30) and Farnsworth (31) point out that there is no necessary correlation between what people say and what they do; that symbolic and non-symbolic activities are learned by different processes, and that a direct study of

such non-symbolic activities as those connected with war are difficult if not impossible.

The structure of social attitudes regarding war, or any other major aspect of culture, is extraordinarily complex, as sociologists, anthropologists and others have long emphasized. Properly constructed scales may be useful in exploring this area, especially if combined with other methods. It is evident, however, that no definitive method for the analysis of social attitudes has yet been devised.

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SPATIAL PATTERNS IN A POLYETHNIC AREA

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A MAJORITY of the ecological studies of ethnic minorities present more or less detailed descriptions of homogeneous ghettos. The presence of large ethnically mixed areas has, however, been noted in the literature.¹ The diverse character of such an area is well described by Lind who found extensive cosmopolitan distributions surrounding the ethnically homogeneous ghetto in Honolulu.² This paper is concerned with the pattern of such an area of highly diverse population elements which present rather widely scattered distributions without, however, revealing a core of ethnic homogeneity.

The area under consideration is the central residential district of Seattle. It is bounded by familiar types of ecological

boundaries. Its western edge is marked by the shift of land use from residence to commercial purposes in the central business district of the city, and it stretches eastward from here to the natural boundary of Lake Washington. It is cut off from adjoining territory to the south by a steep ravine and is bounded on the north by a marked increase in rental values and an equivalent decrease in the proportion of population in the category "other than white race." It is integrated, historically by being centered along Yesler Way, one of the city's oldest axes of growth, and by possessing common traffic lines to the city center, as well as showing relative topographical unity for a city as marked by sharp physiographic change as is Seattle.

The data in this paper are from the 1939 Real Property Survey of Seattle conducted by the W.P.A., and from original materials gathered by the writer. They concern the major ethnic populations in the area described above. Classified by ethnic type of head of household, 9,445 households were composed of 6,503 Gentile White, 498 Ash-

¹ Murray H. Leiffer, "A Method for Determining Local Urban Community Boundaries." *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, vol. XXVI (August, 1932). Andrew Lind, "The Ghetto and the Slum," *Social Forces*, vol. IX, no. 2 (December, 1930). J. F. Steiner, "Is the Neighborhood a Safe Unit for Community Planning?", *Social Forces*, vol. VIII, no. 4 (June, 1934).

² Andrew Lind, *Op. Cit.*

kenazic Jewish White,³ 258 Sephardic Jewish White, 668 Negro, 1,145 Japanese, 162 Chinese, and 185 Filipino.

Figure 1 presents the pattern of dominance of the several ethnic categories. Dominance is considered to be established when fifty per cent or more of the occupied dwelling

by Gentile Whites, 56 are dominated by no single type, 29 show more than fifty per cent of households Japanese, 14 are "Negro," and the Ashkenazim, Sephardim, Chinese and Filipinos are represented by the low figures of 5, 4, 3 and 1, respectively. Two facts are apparent from this map. This

DOMINANCE OF ETHNIC TYPE, BY BLOCKS
ETHNIC TYPE OCCUPYING MORE THAN 50 PERCENT
OF THE DWELLING UNITS IN EACH BLOCK

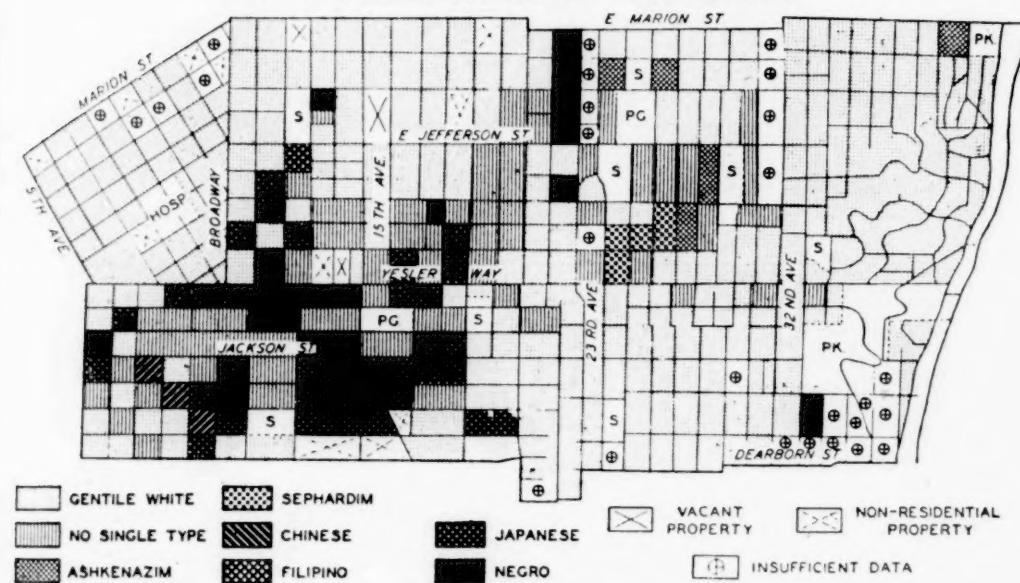


FIGURE 1

units in any one block are occupied by any single ethnic type. This arbitrary definition of dominance must, of course, guide any interpretation of Figure 1.

It is at once clear that, as one would expect, the largest population segment, the Gentile White, dominates most of the blocks. Of a total of 384 blocks, 280 are dominated

by a predominantly Gentile White area even though it is the location of most of the sizeable ethnic minorities of the city.⁴ The proportion of Gentile White dominated blocks is not constant throughout the area, but even where this dominance is weakest the most frequent pattern is that of the "mixed" block in which no single ethnic type occupies fifty per cent of the dwelling units. The second fact to be noted is that the blocks which are dominated by minorities are frequently not adjacent. Exceptions to this observation are the four blocks immediately

³ Though not true ethnic types the relationships of these Jewish categories with the majority population simulate inter-ethnic patterns closely enough to warrant their inclusion as if they were actual ethnic types. The Sephardim and Ashkenazim are considered as two separate categories because the pattern of distribution shows them to be separate, because they have different historical origins, different culture patterns, and because the individuals themselves are conscious of the distinction.

⁴ Two of the three recognized Negro communities are in this area though the largest lies some eight or ten blocks north of the study area on Twenty-Third Avenue.

east of the area's center which are "Sephardic," and the three blocks in the southwest corner dominated by Chinese. All other distributions show a marked scatter. Possibly the significance of the separation between blocks of concentration lies not so much in the actual distance between blocks as it

tion of minority households without reference to the size or nature of the block population.

If this map were divided by a line drawn from the northwestern to the southeastern corner it would show two characteristic patterns of ethnic distribution. In both, as seen

DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS

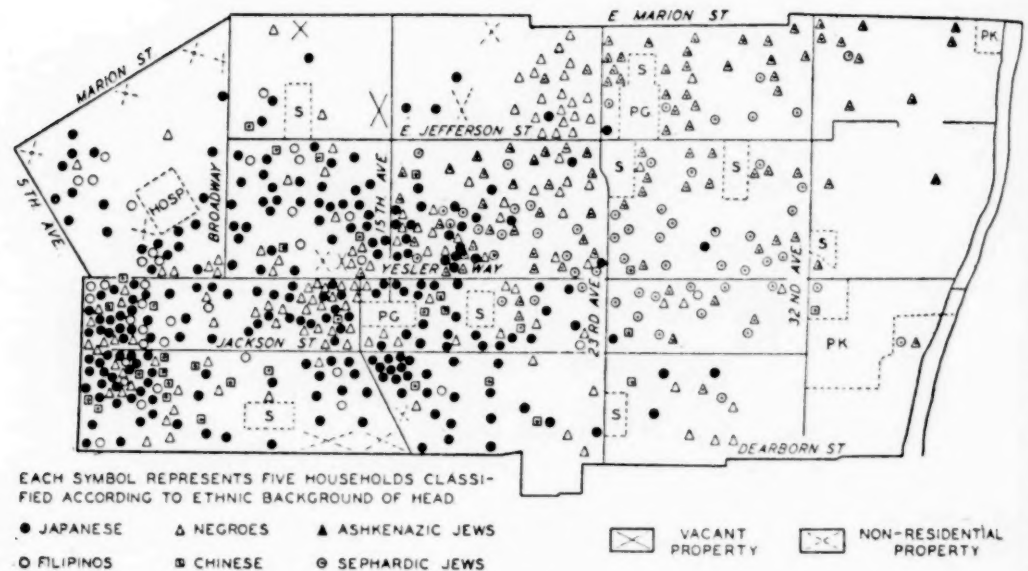


FIGURE 2

does in the multiplicity of ethnic types intervening between the several blocks dominated by any one minority. Thus, many "Japanese" blocks are separated from other "Japanese" blocks by "Negro" blocks, "Chinese" blocks, "mixed" blocks, and "Gentile White" blocks.

Obviously, the size of blocks varies and thus the block constitutes a shifting base which may obscure the true nature of the population concentrations. It is also possible that the block is an improper unit for the distribution of ethnic populations. It might, for example, be sounder to use streets so that "across-the-street neighbors" would be seen as a concentration just as "next-door neighbors" or "back-yard neighbors" are when the block is the unit. To correct for these possibilities, Figure 2 shows the loca-

tion of minority households without reference to the size or nature of the block population. If this map were divided by a line drawn from the northwestern to the southeastern corner it would show two characteristic patterns of ethnic distribution. In both, as seen

houses catering largely to Filipinos and randomly scattered throughout the appropriate area. The Japanese distribution shows a heavy and constant concentration with considerable numbers occupying all areas, even those having heavy concentrations of other minorities, except for the blocks in the northeastern half of the area which are largely inhabited by the white elements alone. The Ashkenazim and Sephardim are located near each other and show considerable overlapping of the patterns. However, the Sephardim are concentrated south of Jefferson street, and the Ashkenazim north of this line.

A rough measure of the extent to which each minority shows close segregation was secured by comparing the actual frequency of each category in those blocks containing any representatives of that category, with the proportion which might be expected if chance determined the number. One would naturally assume that the differences thus obtained would be rather large since no minority is evenly distributed throughout the entire area.⁵ The actual differences are surprisingly low, since of twenty possible critical ratios, ten are less than 2.5. The "segregation index," as this figure is termed here, is highest for the Negro with the observed frequency 6.5 times as large as the expected. The other minorities present in sufficient numbers to allow the calculation of a "segregation index" are as follows: Ashkenazim 5.9, Japanese 4.6, and Sephardim 4.0.⁶ These critical ratios support the con-

⁵ The null hypothesis that these types would be randomly located in blocks is not likely since Map 2 reveals that the various types are restricted areally. This naturally reduces the number of blocks within which each minority type is likely to be found and so modifies the null hypothesis in the direction of expecting a greater proportion than chance without necessarily revealing significant associations by blocks. As a result, only those critical ratios with a corresponding value of P beyond the .01 level of significance can possibly be interpreted as revealing any block association beyond the areal association already indicated in the maps.

⁶ The formula used here is the standard formula for the computation of the standard deviation of the difference between proportions. The critical ratio

based on the maps that none of these categories shows a closely knit spatial pattern. That these figures are not as significant as they might appear may be seen in that an "exclusion index" computed in the same way, shows Gentile Whites to be absent 13.5 times as often as might be expected from those blocks having any Negro households. This shows rather clearly that, although as may be seen in the maps, Gentile Whites continue to inhabit blocks adjacent to Negroes, they do tend to vacate blocks in which Negroes live.

In view of the size of the critical ratios indicating absence of Gentile White population from those blocks containing Japanese and Negroes, the much smaller size of the ratios revealing block segregation of the several types certainly indicates that the area as a whole does not possess solid cores of blocks inhabited by one ethnic type alone, just as the maps reveal that in the cases where these types approach dominance, the blocks may be widely separated. The fact, too, that the significant associations between types, as shown in Table I, are not reciprocal indicates that not even consistent block associations of dualities or pluralities of types exist. The distributions in the maps and the block analysis of proportions of population reveal, then, a consistent poly-ethnic character for most of this area.

Table I presents the significant groupings of segregation and exclusion indexes computed as outlined in note 6. The traditional arbitrary difference of 3 was used to determine significance, although in fact there

based on this standard deviation is called a segre-

gation and exclusion index. It is
$$\sqrt{\frac{P_1 Q_1}{N_1} + \frac{P_2 Q_2}{N_2}}$$

in which P_1 is the proportion of the total population of all blocks containing any representatives of a given ethnic type, constituted by that type, Q_1 is the remaining proportion of that population, N_1 is the number of the total population of these blocks, P_2 is the proportion of the total population of the area represented by the given ethnic type, Q_2 is the remaining proportion of the population of the total area, and N_2 is the total population of the total area.

were no others which even closely approached this figure.

TABLE 1. CRITICAL RATIOS INDICATING SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATIONS OF ETHNIC TYPES

Associations	Index
* <i>Ashkenazim</i> with <i>Ashkenazim</i>	+ 5.9
<i>Ashkenazim</i> with Japanese	- 3.4†
<i>Sephardim</i> with <i>Sephardim</i>	+ 4.0
<i>Sephardim</i> with <i>Ashkenazim</i>	+ 3.1
<i>Sephardim</i> with Gentile White	- 3.2
<i>Negro</i> with <i>Negro</i>	+ 6.5
<i>Negro</i> with Japanese	+ 3.2
<i>Negro</i> with Gentile White	- 13.5
<i>Japanese</i> with Japanese	+ 4.6
<i>Japanese</i> with Gentile White	- 9.5

* The ethnic classification in italics designates the area in which the association is found. Thus the second entry in the table means that Japanese are significantly absent from those blocks containing *Ashkenazim* but not necessarily that *Ashkenazim* are significantly absent from all blocks containing Japanese.

† A negative index, of course, indicates absence of an ethnic type, and a positive index presence of that type.

The mutually exclusive distribution of *Ashkenazim* and Japanese by areas observed in Figure 2 is borne out by the negative critical ratio (index) of these two categories. The same pattern of mutual exclusion from blocks is observed by the tendency of Gentile Whites to be absent from those blocks containing Negroes, Japanese and *Sephardim*. The only two pairs which show a consistent tendency to occupy the same blocks are the *Sephardim* and *Ashkenazim* within the "Sephardic" blocks, and the Japanese and Negroes within the "Negro" blocks.

It is significant that these two associations both appear only in the blocks occupied by the one of the pair which is the more economically disadvantaged, and that neither relationship is reciprocal. That is, other housing data show the economic status of the *Ashkenazim* to be higher than that of the *Sephardim*, and the Japanese to be superior in the same way to the Negro minority. Apparently then the horizontal mo-

bility associated with increased vertical mobility has, in each case, led the economically superior type into blocks which have not as yet been invaded by the other minority of lower economic status.

One further point is suggested by these segregation and exclusion indexes in the light of the patterns revealed in the maps. The maps show clearly that the various minorities definitely overlap and that several important concentrations of varying minorities exist in the same general area. The indexes, however, indicate that there is no constant block to block association between any two of the ethnic types. This seems to offer some reason for arguing that invasion and segregation are block by block processes which may skip intervening blocks or groups of blocks. Of course it may well be that the areas would become more discrete and homogeneous given more time for the operation of the sorting and sifting process, or perhaps with an increase in absolute numbers of minority types so that population pressures behind the invasion process would rapidly fill the lacunae left by block invasion.

Certainly Seattle is too young and its minority populations too small to make a conclusive judgment on the matter of the seeming irregularity of segregation and invasion, but at present its minority ethnic classes may be described as evidencing partial segregation within blocks, with these blocks however, distributed in an irregular areal pattern. Detailed research on patterns of segregation by blocks and areas in other older cities with larger populations of ethnic minorities are necessary before we can either assume that segregation is areal or block by block in nature. The data presented in this paper make it reasonable to suppose that if segregation is areal, that at least the invasion process revealed on the periphery of definite areas of segregation would approximate the irregular block to block movements of minorities within the city pattern.

GUILD AND KINSHIP AMONG THE BUTCHERS IN WEST TOWN

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I. THE GUILD

THE PRIMARY purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze certain methods of trade monopoly in a rustic environment. The field is West Town, in West Yunnan, and the time of investigation is between January and May, 1942.¹

In West Town there are several guilds, of

which that of butchers (of pigs) is not the least important. This guild is said to have had its beginnings about forty or fifty years ago. It was then an independent but not formally organized thing. About six years ago the District Kuomintang Headquarters of Tali urged and helped to organize it into a definite Butchers' Guild, and made it sub-

The Butchers' Guild. Its Composition and Organization

Guild Area	Locality	Heads of Separate Families	Family Groups
First	Ssu Shang Kai	(1) Y. C. Yang (Representative of the First Area,	Group I, Members of the same clan
		(2) S. T. Yang	
		(3) C. C. Yang	
		(4) Y. H. Yang	
		(5) Y. P. Yang	
		(6) W. C. Yang	
	Nan Ts'un T'ou	(7) T. C. Yang	Group II, Members of the same clan
		(8) T. T. Yang	
		(9) S. H. Yang	
		(10) M. T. Tung	
		(11) M. G. Tung	
Second	Nan Ts'un T'ou	(1) T. T. Li (Representative of the Second Area)	Group IV, Members of the same clan
		(2) K. T. Li	
		(3) Y. T. Li	
		(4) W. C. and W. T. Li	
	Ho Yi Ch'eng	(5) W. K. Tuan (6) F. S. Tuan (7) T. S. Tuan	Group V, Members of the same clan

¹This paper is an off-shoot of a wider investigation, the results of which will appear in a volume entitled, *Family, Clan and Ancestor Worship in West Yunnan* (provisional title). West Town is in Tali District and is one of the many comparatively larger interior Chinese towns. However, West Town has a number of distinguished features. For a preliminary idea of the town the reader is referred to F. L. K. Hsu: *Magic and Science in Western Yunnan* (IPR) New York, 1943. The present tense is used throughout the present paper.

ordinate to the Butchers' Guild of Tali.²

Family is the basis of membership in the guild. There are eighteen member families, which comprise all the butchers in West Town. The Guild has an executive body of two Representatives (indicated in the table)

²To organize the different trades people is part of the programme of the Kuomintang party of national organization.

and two Secretaries (not specified in the table). The former have charge of external relations and the latter have the duty of managing internal affairs. In reality, however, the secretaries only run errands to prepare for ceremonial occasions (to be noted below) while all matters of importance are in the hands of the two representatives. Officers are elected separately in both areas. The representatives are as a rule the senior-most persons in the trade in each area. But election occurs only when the officers express a desire to relinquish their posts.

The work of the executive body of the guild, as noted before, is of two general groups, the internal and the external. The following is an account of the nature of the work:

A. *Internal Affairs.* 1. Maintaining customary rules. This work is a two-fold one: on the one hand it consists in maintaining the monopoly of the trade among members (no new butchers will be admitted into the guild) and on the other, it ensures that all members use the same officially allowed weight measurement.

2. Fixing prices. This is done by comparing prices in the district city and one or two other localities not too far away.

3. Dealing with other financial matters. Every year butchers of West Town have to make a total annual contribution in money to the magistrate of Tali District. The sum is fixed at the current price of sixty catties³ of pork and is handed over during the Eighth Lunar Month (this rule is said to have begun in the Sixteenth Year of the Republic); a contribution of thirty catties of pork to the local gentry for offering to Confucius on the sage's birthday celebration (27th of the Eighth Lunar Month); a monthly tax of \$100.00 for purpose of maintaining local schools; a monthly sales tax of \$250.00; a monthly contribution of \$200.00 for maintaining the local so-called "experimental police force." These items are assigned and collected by the executive officers from the individual butchers and then

³ Each catty is equivalent to about 1¼ pounds.

handed over to the receiving authorities. In addition to the above, the representative in each guild area collects \$1.50 from each butcher for every pig slaughtered (about 150 to 200 pigs a month are slaughtered by all butchers in West Town taken together). This money is called Contribution for Moral Achievement (Kung Te Chuan). Out of this sum the representative pays in the name of the guild contributions to numerous temple fairs and prayer meetings. The amount that is left over after making these contributions is used for the annual birthday celebration of the ancient master of butchery. This master is General Chang Fei, a chief warrior in the period of the Three Kingdoms (about 200 A.D.) who began life as a butcher. This birthday takes place on the 23rd of the Eighth Lunar Month, and is celebrated in a temple. There is no temple of this warrior in West Town and Tali District, so a specially made large tablet with the warrior's name and rank is put on the altar of any chosen temple and the celebration takes place in that temple. The celebration consists in a feast partaken by all butchers and their junior male family members (the presence of women is not prohibited, but rare), offering of various kinds, and praying and scripture reading by a band of Taoist priests hired for the occasion. For this event both representatives pool their resources and are jointly responsible for conducting the celebration. They are liberally helped by all members of the guild.

B. *External Affairs.* 1. The representatives represent the members in any negotiation with or petition to the district government, police bureau, sub-district government, and local gentry.

2. The representatives guard the right of trade monopoly in West Town of member butchers against infringement by butchers from other localities or by pretending butchers in West Town. The two representatives, in discharging these duties, sometimes act jointly, sometimes independently.

The above picture of West Town Butchers' Guild would have been sufficient to show the basic mechanism of trade monopoly in a rustic setting but for one thing. We could

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not understand why it was necessary to divide the membership into two areas (see table). We inquired and at first we received the answer that such a division "made it easier to manage the affairs." But further inquiry led us to see that this dichotomy of the guild membership has its customary basis, that the representatives of the two guild areas represent two traditionally established forces and that the most important mechanism in the situation is not guild but kinship and marriage.

II. KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

To begin with, as a glance over the table will show, all except two member families in Guild Area I, have the clan name Yang, while all member families in the other area are either Tuan or Li. A closer scrutiny into the family and marital relations of these families reveals that members in each group are not only members of the same clan but also, in most part, of the same (divided) joint family while members of different groups, though usually of different clans, are often closely united with each other by ties of marriage. We were able closely to study the kinship and marital relations of four of the five groups of families. The results are shown in Diagrams I-IV.

In these diagrams the close relation between kinship and occupation is evident. This kinship structure is the basic structure of West Town Butchers' Guild. In order to become a member of the guild it is necessary first to become a member of one of these families. Apprenticeship in the trade is strictly a family affair. Children learn butchery in the family, carry on the work with their elders and then automatically become a member of the guild when he and his family (wife and children) branch off from the larger family. Affairs requiring consensus of opinion in the guild are really first discussed and decided upon within the several groups of families.

Associated with this desire to keep the membership of the trade exclusive, is the West Town Butchers' practice of what may be called a degree of occupational endogamy. Diagrams I-IV show the marital relation-

ship of these families. Diagrams V-VI make the point clearer.

Arrows in the diagrams show the directions of the women's marital destinations. West Town butchers practice (a) exchange marriage (for example T. T. Yang marries S. T. Yang's first cousin and S. T. Yang marries T. T. Yang's younger sister); (b) Father's sister's son and mother's brother's daughter type of marriage (for example C. C. Yang marries K. Y. Li's sister); and (c) Father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's son type of marriage (for example K. T. Li marries Y. H. Yang's sister). It is to be noted that while the second kind of mating is everywhere enjoined in China the first and the third varieties, in all shades, are everywhere disfavored. But West Town seems to be an exception to the general rule. West Towners verbally disfavor such marriages, but actually not only special occupational groups but most families in general practice them in one form or another. This fact neutralizes any theory which emphasizes occupation as the *raison d'être* of the appearance of the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's son type or the exchange type of marriage; but certainly does not exclude the possibility that such matings are psychologically associated with the same end of trade monopoly.⁴

III. THE RESULT

The mechanisms of trade monopoly among West Town butchers are evidently efficient enough for the purposes which they intend to attain. They have kept the prerogatives of their trade amongst their own family members and relatives. Nobody except a butcher in West Town can slaughter pigs. If an owner of a pig insists on slaughtering it himself he has to pay the regular butcher's charge just the same. He has to give the pork to a butcher for the purpose of sale too, for which the butcher will charge him a fee

⁴For a more detailed treatment of the question of cross-cousin marriage and motivation see F. L. K. Hsu: "Some Observations on Cross-cousin Marriage in China"; *American Anthropologist*, January, 1945.



Note: A married-in Son-in-law takes the wife's family name and is socially, ritually and biologically treated as any other Son in the wife's family.

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GUILD AND KINSHIP AMONG THE BUTCHERS IN WEST TOWN 361

equivalent to about five catties of pork.

But today the butchers of West Town commiserate about their misfortune. Most of them complain that they can hardly make ends meet. Among these butchers T. C. Yang

borrow money at a high rate of interest which absorbs any profit that they make through butchery.

We attempted to study the income and expenditure of several families, but were able

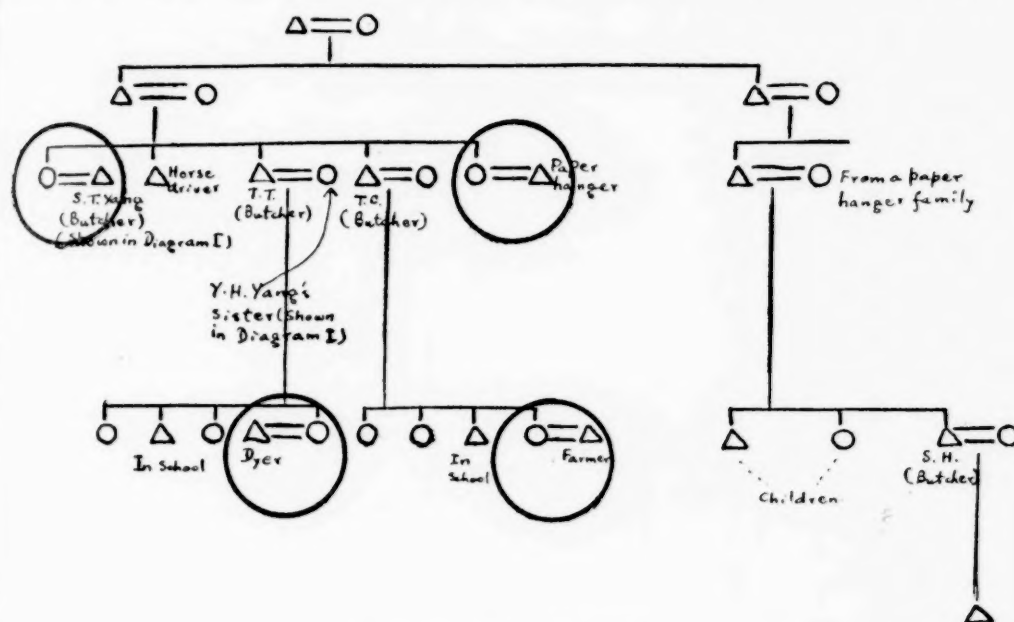


DIAGRAM II. Group II Families

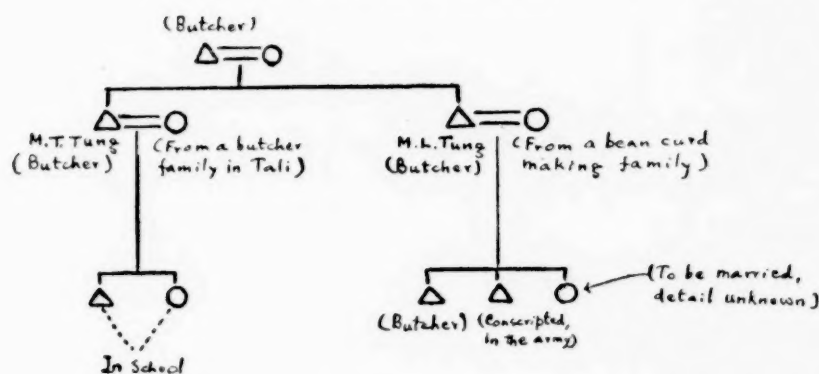


DIAGRAM III. Group III Families

and T. T. Yang in Guild Area I and the Tuans in Guild Area II are better off, because they own rice fields and butchery is only one of their means of livelihood. These families can depend upon their land for accumulation of a small capital. The ones which do not own any land property have often to

to obtain only temporary estimates, which are not satisfactory to tell their actual economic position. Instead we obtained the following facts: The monthly consumption in West Town is about 150 to 200 pigs. This figure divided equally by the butcher families gives a result that each family has business

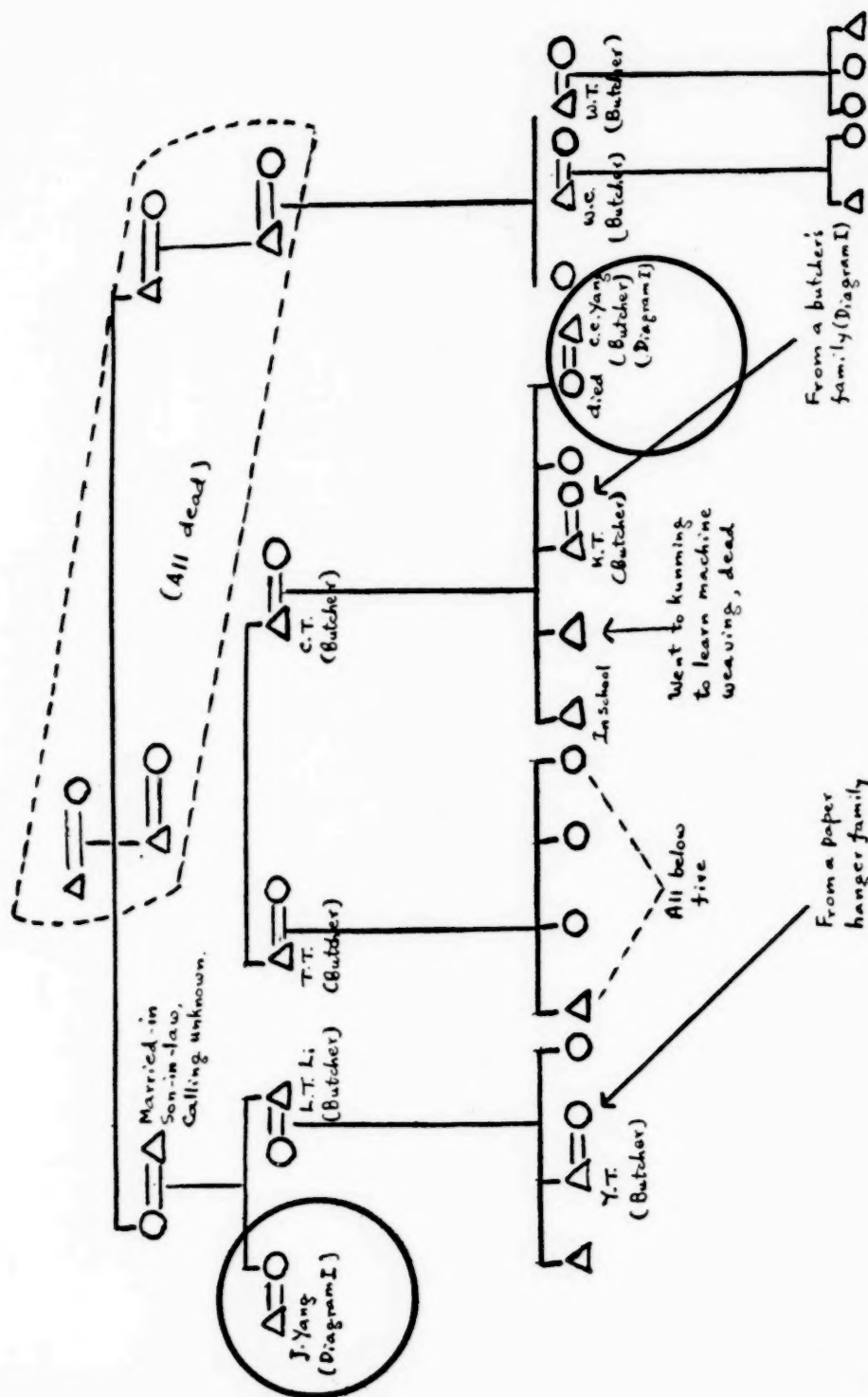


DIAGRAM IV. Group IV Families

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on about ten pigs per month, or one pig in every three or four days. The butchers said that sometimes if their advance calculations were mistaken, they might lose instead of gain in the sale. However to give them the benefit of the doubt we considered them as gaining in every case, and found that the net profit per pig was about \$200.00 to \$250.00 national dollars, which sum has to

(Diagram IV); but there are just so many pigs to be slaughtered and consumed in West Town. When some families deal with a larger number of them others will have business on a smaller number. The resulting distribution of the total income from butchery is necessarily such that each family has hardly any margin left in its budget for clothes or social expenses. Their wives have to weave and dye

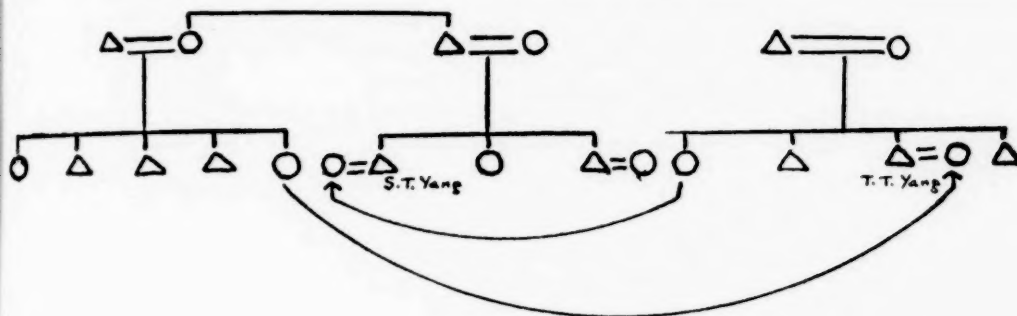


DIAGRAM V

A branch from Group I Families

A branch from Group II Families

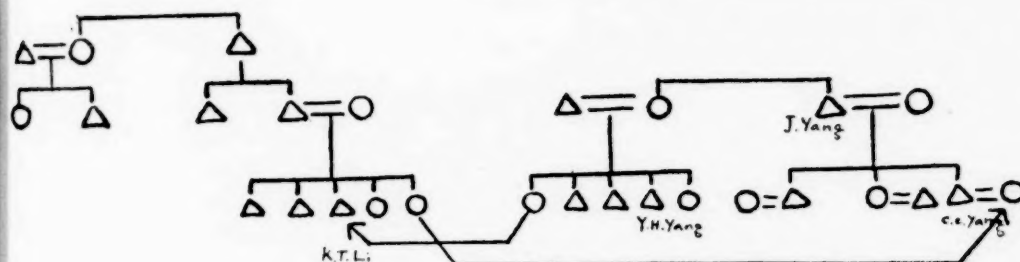


DIAGRAM VI

A branch from Group IV Families

A branch from Group I Families

cover the expenditure of a family for three or four days. But the daily expenditure, including rice, pig's food, vegetables (fortunately they do not have to pay for pork), taxes (paid per pig) and annual contributions (see Section I of this paper), sundries and opium (all butchers smoke opium) amounted to no less than about fifty dollars for the smaller households and about one hundred dollars for the larger households. The larger butcher families probably get more pigs per month than the smaller ones. At least three families have two active butcher members each: one family in Tung group (Diagram III) and two in Li group

cloth or peddle in the periodic markets to make up the deficiency.

West Town butchers were well aware of the cause of their hardship: Too many butchers in the town. They told the investigators that there were only six or seven butchers in the district town of Tali and somewhat more than ten butchers in Hsia-kuan (a Burma Road town south of the town of Tali); but West Town, while smaller in terms of population, has eighteen. Some of them said that they would like to carry on the trade in another locality, such as Tali, under which guild West Town's is but a subdivision. But again, they said, living

quarters are hard to find in a new locality; or they have not sufficient funds for the removal. So they keep on watching carefully in order that no new butchers will turn up in West Town and that no new members will be admitted into their guild. The feasting and celebration upon the occasion of the birthday of the supposed ancestor of butchery annually renew the *esprit de corps* among these families as a district group.

What they have failed to see is that the real trouble is their very method of trade monopoly—kinship and, secondarily, marriage. By keeping the butchery trade within their families the actual increase in the number of new butchers is considerable through a period of time but it passes hardly noticed.

A glance over the diagrams will show that all parents (whether known to be butchers or not) are responsible for more than one butcher son.

Whether the butchers in West Town will ultimately see this point and lead their children into other trades cannot be ascertained at the moment. At least one son in Group IV Families (Diagram IV) had been known to have gone to Kunming to learn cloth-weaving on the machine. But he died soon after he began his newly chosen career. There is no sign at present that many other younger members of these families will follow his example. Maybe some of the school going young sons will ultimately drift into other walks of life on their own initiative.

THE KENNY HEALING CULT: PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP AND PATTERNS OF INTERACTION

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INSTITUTIONS that are concerned directly with the welfare of the members of society at times are modified through the activities of groups of innovators and their supporters that can be classified as cult groups. The cause (the cult principle) supported by the cult members is, of course, any culture trait or pattern that is intended to replace or modify the corresponding one currently followed by the orthodox. These innovations come to various ends: some finally are discarded and disappear; others gain acceptance as worthy or tolerable modifications of or alternates to the previous practices; and others eventually replace the previous practices. The fate of the cult group generally reflects the fate of its cause.

The sociologist has few opportunities to observe as a contemporary the progress of an important cult through its life cycle. Such an opportunity is presented by the modern cult centering around the infantile paralysis healing method of the Australian nurse, Sister Elizabeth Kenny. This cult at present stands at an intermediate stage in its career. At some future time after Sister Kenny's

method has found its place—whatever it may be—in the general body of medical knowledge, a final definitive study can be made of the social movement connected with it. For the present, however, it is possible only to indicate in a preliminary way the social setting of the problem and some possible patterns of association or interaction that may be involved.

HISTORY AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT

The study of cults is usually handicapped by a dearth of objective data regarding their early history; this is especially so if the earliest events took place obscurely and in distant lands. For that matter, events in the current history of such movements are not reported with invariable objectivity. This is the case with the study of the Kenny movement. The chronology and at least one version of the history of the cult are familiar to most readers of newspapers and popular magazines; it is when one attempts to go into the meaning of the events that serious problems are encountered. While these problems

are too many and too complex to be solved in a limited space, an outline of the principal ones can be given at this juncture.

The American public have received their knowledge of the life of Sister Kenny and the history of the Kenny movement from the founder's autobiography and from numberless articles in popular magazines and newspapers. In the autobiography Sister Kenny and her collaborator have presented a highly romantic and dramatic picture of a lowly life of sacrifice, service to crippled children, and struggle against the doctors' cruel prejudices against her epoch-making discoveries, all ending in final triumph. This story has been followed substantially by other popular writers.¹ The solidarity of the cult group is based in part upon this conception of the history of Sister Kenny and her campaign. Analysis of these and numerous other data, while casting no doubt on Sister Kenny's sincerity, determination, and perseverance, does bring out a number of sociologically significant factors which this movement has in common with other cults under such leaders.

The first events of the story occurred in the back-country of Australia where some 30 years ago Sister Kenny claims she began to make original discoveries about the disease infantile paralysis. After overcoming great obstacles, by 1938 she had achieved great successes culminating in the establishment of some elaborate Kenny clinics supported by the Queensland Provincial Government. She also spent some time in England in this work and then came to the United States in 1940 hoping to introduce her ideas here. These ideas included a method of treatment, an unorthodox theory of the nature of the disease, and a technique of promotion and persuasion that had been both dramatic and relatively successful.

Her reception by the medical world in the

U.S. was not particularly encouraging although she visited the offices of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis in May 1940 and several other institutions, including the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. From Rochester she went to Minneapolis, where she was invited to examine patients and was able to recommend treatments in several cases that apparently produced impressive results. With the financial support of the National Foundation (secured through the efforts of the University of Minnesota) she remained in the Twin Cities giving a series of lectures at the University beginning in June, 1940, and examining and treating a number of cases. By December of 1941 the Kenny treatment had gained widespread attention from medical men and public alike and what appeared to be its final endorsement by the medical world was issued with great public notice.² The next year was marked by numerous successes for Sister Kenny in her public relations and, of course, considerable criticism from various quarters. However, her acceptance by the Minneapolis public was more or less complete, including several prominent laymen and political figures, and as a result the Elizabeth Kenny Institute was opened in December 1942 for training of technicians and treatment of patients.

From the beginning the Kenny movement has been accompanied by controversy ranging in intensity from incidental verbal interchanges between the founder and her medical critics to hearings and reports by commissions of medical societies³ the content of

¹ *Newsweek* (December 15, 1941), p. 77.

² The A.M.A. report of June 1944 is the latest. See Ghormley, Ralph K., et al., "Evaluation of the Kenny Treatment of Infantile Paralysis," *Archives of Physical Therapy*, vol. 25, no. 7, pp. 415-420 (July, 1944). In the medical aspect this report has some interesting parallels with the earlier report of a Royal Commission in Queensland on the Kenny Method. However, the Queensland report goes beyond the medical aspects to suggest that support of the Kenny Clinics by the government was to some extent an unnecessarily expensive public health venture sponsored by political interests. See "Report of the Queensland Royal Commission on Modern Methods for the Treatment of Infantile

³ *And They Shall Walk: the Life Story of Sister Elizabeth Kenny*, written in collaboration with Martha Ostenso, New York, 1943; see also *Reader's Digest* (December, 1941), *Collier's* (September 26, 1942), *Newsweek* (October 4, 1943), *Time* (June 23, 1941 and August 10, 1942); *Saturday Evening Post* (January 17, 1942), and many others.

which and Sister Kenny's energetic replies thereto have been matters of nation-wide interest. There have been spectacular and well-publicized episodes when Sister Kenny has visited cities and regions suffering epidemics of infantile paralysis, and great meetings to which parents of victims and others of the laity have come in multitudes seeking comfort and encouragement from this dynamic personage. Sister Kenny has become an important focus of attention of all groups involved in the conquest of the disease, and many of her supporters have come to regard the Kenny method as one of the greatest medical discoveries of all time and to liken Sister Kenny to such women as Madame Curie. Other groups have described it as something much less significant than that. It is with the general character of the resulting conflict, the leader, and the groups involved that this paper is concerned.

LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

Students of the phenomenon of leadership will find much that is familiar to them in the personality of Sister Kenny. In many respects her leadership as viewed by her supporters exemplifies the type described by Weber as charismatic:⁴ all through the story of her life as presented to the public there runs an implication of her being "set apart" for this work, that she has experienced a special calling for her task. This begins with the prophecy of a long troubled career of heartbreak and humiliation pronounced for her by her old friend Dr. Aneas McDonnell after her report of her treatment of the first cases; there is the conventional situation where she is forced to "make her choice" between romance and marriage and service to humanity; she had a small vision; and at one time she was near death from heart trouble but recovered after having been given up by her doctors in Australia. It is reported in several popular articles that the little children of Queensland invoke God's blessing on her work in their daily prayers. There is

Paralysis," *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 187-224 (January 29, 1938).

⁴Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*. New York, 1938, pp. 662ff.

some evidence that a few naïve observers have attempted to explain her success with her patients by attributing unusual mental powers to her. Her origin was lowly as far as medical science is concerned; the commonest cliché used in describing her is that she is the "bush nurse from the outback" who is frequently called in "to instruct the doctors."

One of the ways in which a cult leader responds to the leadership situation is to undergo an evolution of ideas regarding the theoretical basis for the movement. This leader's conception of her role has evolved from that of a simple pragmatist to that of the astute hypothesist. Whereas at first she merely applied a pragmatic discovery to the treatment of the disease, she now has developed a whole "new concept" of the disease which she describes as "the direct opposite" of the concept previously held by medical world.⁵ The story of this evolution in ideas and methods would itself make an interesting study. Sister Kenny's ideas first came to the attention of medical men in Australia as only a scheme of treatment of this disease and other paralyzes by a system of physical therapy that included a few radical departures from the prevailing procedures. The touch of refinement provided by the "scientific" theoretical explanation came later. In the early days the treatment is said to have included what was called "vibratory massage" which required a "forcible grip" into which one had to put all one's strength. This moved a medical commentator to express his apprehension lest such rough treatment result in bone fractures for the patients. Something called "maintenance of impulse" in the muscle was required for the treatment to succeed. The Royal Commission observed the presence of quite a lot of special equipment at the Townsville

⁵Belief in this concept has some elements of an act of faith to which one may be converted: "'You must believe what you see,' she told the doctors, in the effort to convert them to her concept which has amazed modern scientists. 'Forget what you read,' students and Army trainees were told. . . . 'Believe what you see with your own eyes.'" Washington, D.C., *Times-Herald* (September 3, 1944).

Clinic in 1937, some of which provoked a certain amount of admiration from them.⁶

The present theoretical explanation for the success claimed for Sister Kenny's therapy seems to be a relatively new development. This theory—often abbreviated into the "concept" of "spasm, alienation, and inco-ordination"—as well as the hot wet pack treatment now a part of it were not mentioned in her textbook *Infantile Paralysis and Cerebral Diplegia* published in Australia in 1937.⁷ Further new developments presented and promised at the present time include a guess that perhaps the disease enters through the skin,⁸ a technique that makes polio "virtually painless" in the acute stage, and a method which by retarding the spread of the disease would help prevent such epidemics as occurred in the fall of 1943.⁹

Having accepted it, Sister Kenny finds the role of hypothesist of the cult a comfortable one. A typical Kenny pronouncement runs as follows:

Tradition has regarded infantile paralysis as

⁶ See the "Report of the Queensland Royal Commission . . .," *op. cit.*, *passim*. The Commissioners were moved to say that while the system originally included a number of radical departures from conventional therapy, by 1937 it had moved more into line with accepted practice. They thought at the time that Sister Kenny was "unfamiliar with the nature of the work she was undertaking" but that she "learnt as she went on, not only caution, but orthodox treatment as well." Her supporters' belief in the possibility of a cure was "attributable to Miss Kenny's strong personality, her own conviction of technical competence, and to improvement in patients treated by her, all of which combined to inspire the patients and relatives with great hope and especially with unshakable loyalty to Miss Kenny." *Ibid.*, pp. 210-220.

⁷ Ghormley, *et al.*, *op. cit.* Of course it is not unusual in science for the explanation to come after the phenomenon has been observed; the physicians' objections to this hypothesis rest, for the most part, on grounds other than its order of precedence.

⁸ Sister Kenny said in Los Angeles that she had seen only three Negro children with infantile paralysis: "Negroes have the same internal structure as do others. Can it be that the disease enters through the skin and the pigment in colored people prevents it?" *New York Times* (October 16, 1943).

⁹ *New York Times* (January 22, 1944); and *Newsweek* (February 7, 1944), p. 93.

a disease whose lesion affects primarily the central nervous system and only the muscles secondarily. While the central nervous system may be affected and probably is, it is my belief the disease is more active primarily in the structure of the body affecting the muscles, tendons, fascia, subcutaneous tissue, and even the skin.

These conditions, previously unrecognized until presented by me, and untreated, are responsible for the major part of the crippling after-effects of the disease.¹⁰

The medical cultist in the modern world must present himself, or be presented, as something of a savant in order to retain his following. As a savant he must be "scientific."¹¹ Although she makes frequent appeals to "science" for support and justification, Sister Kenny exhibits a certain impatience, to say the least, with the deliberate and methodical practices of the scientist and his views of the processes that must be carried out before a "proof" is established. She claims that she has always proceeded in her treatments under the "direction" of physicians, and has insisted that physicians examine the cases before she treats them. Moreover, she has stated that many of her journeys were for the purpose of "presenting my findings to a research institution." It is said that Sister Kenny has not claimed that she has a "cure" for the disease,¹² although on occasion efforts have been made to trap her into making such a claim. Despite all this appearance of allegiance to science on her part many medical scientists, although willing to agree that her approach to the disease has stimulated research and given it new problems, find that her attitudes toward their methods of performing this research and toward their approach to the problems somewhat unusual. In 1943 she made a radio

¹⁰ Washington, D.C., *Times-Herald* (September 2, 1944).

¹¹ Over the heads of the patients in the clinical demonstration "her clipped voice carried Greek and Latin medical terms swift and sure to the doctors grouped around." *Ibid.* (September 3, 1944).

¹² *And They Shall Walk*, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177. However, the "Report of the Queensland Royal Commission . . .," *op. cit.*, contains references to her making forecasts of "100 per cent restoration" in connection with some cases in Australia.

broadcast which contained the following passage:

And this . . . has been my gift to you—not a new treatment of a well known disease, but a new concept of the disease which has opened the door to research hitherto unknown and unrecognized and has reduced the crippling effects from 87 per cent to 15 per cent. . . .

The value of the gift may be recognized when it is understood that during the last decade over one hundred million dollars has been spent on research. The result of this research made no progress in the pathology of the disease and the further knowledge of the symptoms of the disease or its treatment.¹³

To a considerable extent Sister Kenny's confidence in her method of treating infantile paralysis and her appeals for its adoption are based not upon laboratory science but upon her apparent successes in numerous clinical demonstrations wherein she considers she has "proved" its validity, and upon a large number of testimonials and endorsements by physicians, satisfied patients, and public health officials published in newspapers and scientific and popular magazines. One of her "proofs" of the "failure" of the "conventional or orthodox treatment" is based on data published by Dr. H. R. McCarroll of St. Louis¹⁴ stating that the percentage of recoveries from this disease was 13 per cent (sic) even when carried out by the best technicians recommended by Public Health U.S.A. and National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, and the percentage of recoveries when no treatment was given was 17 per cent (sic). The recoveries were obtained after many months and years of treatments. Deformities developed in 50 per cent of the cases during treatment.¹⁵

¹³ *Vital Speeches* (October 15, 1943), pp. 26-27.

¹⁴ "The Role of Physical Therapy in the Early Treatment of Poliomyelitis," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 120, no. 7, pp. 517-519 (October 17, 1942). The data were first published in the *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* (October, 1941).

¹⁵ "A Brief Resume of the Story of Sister Elizabeth Kenny and the Elizabeth Kenny Institute for Infantile Paralysis," prepared by the Board of Directors of the Elizabeth Kenny Institute (Min-

Sister Kenny's present view is that her method has been adequately tested and that no further investigation is necessary:

. . . At the end of the month of January, 1944, we were again visited by the representatives of the Academy of Orthopedic Surgery. A report of this visit is to be presented this summer, I understand. However, it has been acknowledged by all medical observers that the results at the Elizabeth Kenny Institute far excels that (sic) obtained anywhere else. This evidence proves the value of the work when given in its entirety without the modifications introduced at other centers. . . .

Furthermore, owing to the evidence presented above and the acknowledgment stated by the President of the National Foundation that THE WORK SAVED THE NATION FROM A NATIONAL DISASTER IN THE YEAR 1943, I consider the work has been thoroughly evaluated. . . .

I would like to make it clear that I have received every possible courtesy and co-operation from the members of the American Medical Association with whom I have come in contact. I have their signed declaration that I have presented to them a new concept of the disease infantile paralysis and a satisfactory treatment for this concept.¹⁶

A personal leader of this type has two propaganda functions: to present his own cause favorably and to build up in his followers an appropriate image of the opposition. Sister Kenny's treatment of the opposition has revealed a skill at dramatizing the forces working against her in such a way that in the minds of her public her already considerable difficulties are multiplied. For example, her reply to the critical report of the A.M.A. committee of June 1944 was that it was "all tomfoolery because it was written

neapolis, 1944), pp. 15, 20. Sister Kenny compares these data with data from her clinic despite the fact that ". . . The series are not comparable. The Kenny series included all cases diagnosed as poliomyelitis and McCarroll's cases included only those with sufficient residual paralysis to cause them to enter the hospital in the convalescent or chronic stage of the disease. . . ." Key, J. Albert, "The Kenny versus the Orthodox Treatment of Anterior Poliomyelitis," *Surgery*, vol. 14, no. 1, p. 30 (July, 1943).

¹⁶ "A Brief Resume . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18, 19. (Caps. in the original.)

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by men who don't know the disease" and, besides, it was "the most criminal thing that ever happened in any work."¹⁷ In her recent controversy with the University of Minnesota over her "latest discovery" she was threatening to leave the country because of the University's alleged refusal of technical assistance. When asked whether the University knew of her feelings in the matter her reply was, "They should. I put it in the papers."¹⁸ Her experiences with one of her early antagonists in Australia, Sir Raphael Cilento, are reported in her autobiography in terms that may be described as dramatic, especially as regards the mysterious disappearance of her manuscript and her difficulties in persuading Sir Raphael to show her a copy of a book expounding theories similar to hers, written by a rival physiotherapist.¹⁹ Sister Kenny further claims that favorable reports on her work have been unaccountably delayed, edited, and altered; in general the opposition has moved in melodramatic, if not mysterious, ways.²⁰

It is necessary to turn now to a consideration of the factors involved in the responses

¹⁷ *New York Times* (June 16, 1944), p. 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* (February 4, 1944), p. 17. On this occasion she had appeared in New York, called a press conference, and announced that she had "run away" from the University which "is doubtlessly looking for me now." On its part, the University said that the reason they had made no offer of assistance was that no word about the "discovery" was received from Sister Kenny except through the newspapers and, besides, they could not grant funds to "demonstrate" the discovery before it had been investigated. *Ibid.* (February 5, 1944), p. 28.

¹⁹ *And They Shall Walk*, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-121. Sir Raphael thought that his troubles with Sister Kenny were in part due to politics. In his plea to the Minister for Health and Home Affairs in 1935 that he be put in charge of the paralysis programme as Director-General of Health he wrote: "The attention of the Minister is called to the fact that Sister Kenny's letters are being composed by persons who are interested in discrediting me prior to the formation of the new Ministry of Health." See the "Report of the Queensland Royal Commission . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 189.

²⁰ Miss Kenny considers that her relations with the National Foundation have been particularly marked by crises. See, for example, "A Brief Resume . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17.

of the public to the cult principle and to the appeals of the cult leader described above. Evidently the well-justified anxiety of a large portion of the public regarding a mysterious and serious disease has created a social situation conducive to the rise of a healing cult whose leader can produce apparent successes and make great promises.

THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC

The masses arrive at their judgments on medical innovations through the operation of processes that often are indiscriminately scientific and anti-scientific, and in many cases factors that are irrelevant to the question are successfully introduced into the process.²¹ The public have been asked to judge the Kenny movement on the basis of some scientific information, but also on such common-sense arguments as the following: the "vested interests" oppose it; the leader has made personal sacrifices in promoting her cause, which proves her sincerity and hence the validity of her claims; a certain amount of "divine aid" was involved in the discovery and its further development (or at least aid from such an unknown source as yet-to-be-discovered "scientific" facts); and many satisfied clients and medical men have publicly endorsed the method.

There is widespread awareness of the Kenny movement among the public, and the accompanying mass opinions are probably generally favorable to an acceptance of the claims made in its behalf.²² The rapid

²¹ See Bernhard J. Stern, *Social Factors in Medical Progress*, New York, 1927, for a general statement. In addition to being an important datum in the sociological study of the rise of a cult, the approval or disapproval of the masses indirectly affects scientific investigation of the cult principle by the masses' demand for a favorable or unfavorable verdict from the researchers. The masses make such demands principally by giving or withholding funds for research according to their prejudgment of the cult principle.

²² This statement could be checked more or less accurately by familiar methods of opinion research. At the moment, however, a certain amount of indirect evidence is available:

(1) Nearly everything that the masses have heard about the movement has been favorable to it, with the exception of a few critical statements by

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development of this awareness fits very well within the framework of current sociological hypotheses concerning cultural change: the situation was ideal; the cultural base was adequate; communication of the new discovery, at least to the masses, was particularly easy; the masses were psychologically toned to accept such an innovation because of its claimed successes and its prestige;²³ and, finally, the movement possessed a leader whose capacities for this type of leadership have seldom been surpassed. Describing her efforts as a crusader to secure "justice," she has become something to a public heroine: a compromise between orthodoxy and the Kenny method is impossible—the choice is between the "right" method and the "wrong" method.²⁴ Here at last is certainty; the masses need look no further. In view of the present condition of public opinion about the movement, the National Foundation early in 1944 felt constrained to express its regret at the "unprecedented publicity" that

physicians and reports such as that of the A.M.A. committee in June 1944.

(2) Sister Kenny has been given all kinds of public honors, both here and in Australia, and a movie based on her life story has been planned since 1942 with Miss Rosalind Russell as the star.

(3) Her tours through hospitals and public places in cities she visits are attended by reporters and photographers and are extensively and often sensationally described in newspapers and on the radio. See, for example, the reports of her visit to Washington in the *Times-Herald* of September 2-3, 1944: "Swept along on a tidal wave of faith, more than a thousand parents of crippled and cured children surged into the room, packed the mezzanine and overflowed into the corridors, even into the lobby while police vainly tried to hold them in check. . . . 'It's like watching a miracle,' a policeman whispered hoarsely, 'You can't keep them back.'" (This newspaper was the principal sponsor of this visit to Washington, and shortly afterward proposed to sponsor a sort of Pullman-car pilgrimage of sufferers from Washington to Minneapolis where it was promised the patients would be placed under the personal care of Sister Kenny in her institute. Washington public health officials expressed little or no enthusiasm for this project, however.)

²³ Singer Marjorie Lawrence was treated at the Kenny Clinic; Walter Winchell reported the successful treatment of Lawrence Tibbetts' son, and so on.

²⁴ *And They Shall Walk*, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

has been given the Kenny method and to say that exaggeration has occurred, and that the spontaneous popular acclaim had led to the bad result of the expectation of miracles by the public.²⁵

Some consideration should be given to the appeals made by certain portions of the public to both the partisans and opponents of the Kenny method and to the scientific groups concerned. This endeavor of course will be more feasible later on when the files of these groups become available. At that time a check can be made on the present author's guess that a considerable problem of public relations has been created for the A.M.A. and especially for the National Foundation, which depends upon the general public for the funds with which it operates. The response of the public to its appeals for funds is certainly affected by the spread of reports that Sister Kenny is "particularly bitter toward the National Foundation which, she believes, has let her down after grabbing undue credit for financing her work in the U.S.A. . . . The Foundation at no time has adequately supported her efforts during her four-year stay in this country, she adds."²⁶

In the study of the public relations of the A.M.A. and the National Foundation²⁷ data might also be collected that bear upon the question of the extent to which, if at all, the masses have indirectly affected scientific study by their demands for a favorable or unfavorable verdict from the researchers. The possibilities inherent in such a study are illustrated by the following:

During the 1944 epidemic Senator Langer introduced a resolution in the U. S. Senate that Congress establish a national board, with Sister Kenny as a director and with a \$10,000,000

²⁵ The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, *Annual Report 1943*, New York, 1944, p. 40.

²⁶ *PM* (New York, June 16, 1944). See also the editorial by Albert Deutsch in the issue of June 20, 1944: "Why Not a Scientific Test of Kenny Polio Treatment?"

²⁷ In February 1944 the National Foundation was having to answer rumors of a "break" between itself and Sister Kenny. See the *New York Times* (February 5, 1944), p. 28.

working fund, to study the disease and invoke regulations to effectively curb its spread. When medical men and the National Foundation failed to endorse this resolution, an individual signing himself "Interested" wrote a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post* (September 4, 1944):

"There seems to be quite a bit of talk about Congress appropriating funds for an investigation and study of the causes of polio, also that people are contributing funds toward the treatment of research (sic) of this plague.

"Why is it necessary that these things be done? Where are the vast amount (sic) of funds contributed to the 'Mile of Dimes'?

"It seems to me and to many others, that in all the years that the 'Mile of Dimes' campaign has been carried out, that there should be a much greater knowledge of the why's and wherefore's (sic) of this horrible disease.

"Has all this money been disposed of in the manner we have been led to believe?"

In considering the relationship of the public to this or any other cult one must not neglect the possibility of the exploitation of the cult leader and the cult principle by extraneous political and commercial interests primarily concerned with other matters than, in this case, the conquest of infantile paralysis. Data bearing on this point are among the most elusive of all, however, and a more extensive study than the present one would be required to determine the extent to which—if at all—exploitation has played a part in the history of this cult. When an investigation along this line can be made, it obviously will deal among other things with the question whether sponsorship and support of Sister Kenny's method, her institute, and her tours have been used by such interests as newspapers, politicians, and others to gain advantage over their rivals in competition for public approbation and for pecuniary benefit.

THE MEDICAL SCIENTIST AND THE CULT

The success of a lay cultist obviously represents a threat to the prestige of the professional in-group in medicine or in any other field where the process of professionalization operates. It is a difficult matter, therefore, for all members of a professional group to contemplate objectively the rise of a

cult.²⁸ In the present case it is not possible to discover now to what extent professional antipathy to Sister Kenny's method is due to the type of prejudice indicated. Such investigation is best carried on retrospectively after the final "verdict of science" has been given.²⁹ Accordingly, this brief discussion will be concerned with two other elements in the response of the physician to the cultist, namely, the effect of the folkways of innovation in medical science and the difficulty of communication between cultist and scientist.

The cultist violates many of the conventions of scientific innovation; some of these violations in the case of the Kenny movement have been mentioned in various connections above and presumably are easily recognizable. To cite one additional example here, the scientist often invokes against the innovator the convention that publicity is not properly used as a weapon in scientific controversy, and that in any case the use of the language or method of conflict is out of place in science.³⁰ Consequently, it was inappropriate to publicize the confirmation of the existence of "muscle spasm" by the electromyograph as something of a personal triumph for Sister Kenny.³¹

²⁸ It should go without saying that on his part the cultist, considered as an ideal type, is prone to rule out altogether the possibility of the existence of an objective, unprejudiced position with regard to the cult principle.

²⁹ In this case the "verdict of science" seems to be in the making and the signs point toward an unfavorable decision with regard to Sister Kenny's fulsome claims of the uniqueness and efficacy of her therapy and the validity of her concept of the etiology and pathology of the disease. It is recognized, however, that there are some positive merits in the therapeutic measures urged by Miss Kenny and that new avenues of research into the pathology of the disease have been opened up as a result of the controversy over the Kenny method. See McKinley, J. C., McQuarrie, Irvine, O'Brien, W. A., and Visscher, M. B., "The Present Status of Poliomyelitis Management," *The Journal-Lancet*, vol. 64, no. 7, pp. 249-250 (July 1944).

³⁰ *And They Shall Walk*, op. cit., ch. 13, esp. p. 247.

³¹ Strictly speaking, this research does not seem to have confirmed the Kenny muscle spasm hypothesis after all. See Schwartz, R. Plato, Bouman, Harry

Finally, a common social psychological element of isolation—in the sense of deficient communication between the innovator and the institutional group—affects the responses of the orthodox whenever novelties are offered in a field where precision of communication is at a premium.³² In the present instance, the principal communication problem is raised by the threefold syndrome or "concept" that Sister Kenny insists is basic to her method of treatment. The initial function of this formula was to describe an abstraction from pragmatic experience, but it has now taken on the additional function of serving as something of a slogan of the movement. It thus must be regarded as having two meanings, and it is likely that the public and the Kenny partisans consider a medical pronouncement about it as a response to its value as a slogan as well as a response to its denotative value.

The elements of the concept are certainly verbal innovations in the language of the medical world, at least in their proposed meanings as applied to the study of infantile paralysis, and the sociologist in reading the literature notices a constant effort on the part of medical men to discover first what Sister Kenny intended the words to mean and next whether they mean anything that can be observed in the course of medical

research.³³ Sister Kenny herself has perceived this difficulty of communication and has produced a succession of three textbooks, the last one in collaboration with Dr. John F. Pohl. Each of the latter two books represents a greater effort than the preceding one to put her views into what she describes as "scientific terms." It is through such efforts on both sides of the controversy that communication can be established and the first impediment in the way of a scientific assessment of the novel principles be removed. Communication is being progressively improved and efforts are now under way to answer finally in the laboratory the question of the validity of Sister Kenny's insistence on the inseparability of her method of treatment and her concept.

CONCLUSION

At its present stage of development the Kenny method of treatment of infantile paralysis may be described as a cult principle in which are some elements that perhaps will become accepted parts of medical technology. The adherents of the cult connected with it have at times used conflict methods and publicity (as contrasted with the more usual "scientific procedures") in their efforts to persuade the orthodox, and the cult leader has served both as pragmatist and prophet, toward whom many of the common sense public have behaved as if in the presence of a miracle.

In connection with further study, an almost unique opportunity exists for the sociologist to observe the contemporary development of a cult group and its future career in relation to the processes of cultural change, and this study might well run parallel to the course of the investigations by medical scientists of a different aspect of the same problem.

³³ See, for example, McKinley, J. C., *et al.*, *op. cit.*, and Key J. Albert, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

D., and Smith, Wilbur K., "The Significance of Muscle Spasm in the Acute Stage of Infantile Paralysis Based on Action Current Records," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 126, no. 11, pp. 685-702 (November 11, 1942).

³² This point is perhaps the only one that the present author would wish to add to Stern's classification of factors involved in retarding innovation in medicine. Stern postulates four classes of factors: psychological, cultural, mechanical, and personality, all of which are involved in the present problem. From data presented above, and from others that may be secured, the applicability of Stern's scheme of analysis becomes obvious and no extensive treatment of the problem by this method need be attempted in this preliminary study. See Bernhard J. Stern, *op. cit.*, Ch. I.

THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOIL EROSION: A CASE-STUDY

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I. INTRODUCTION

EROSION control is of such fundamental importance as to require understanding in its totality.¹ Until recently, however, erosion has been the concern chiefly of engineers and academicians in the natural sciences. Whether we view the irrigation systems of Ancient China, the levees of Ancient Mesopotamia, the stone terracing of Andean civilizations, the farm practices suggested by Virgil, or the soil conservation measures advocated by contemporary soil experts, we find erosion considered almost wholly in terms of its physical aspects.²

However, especially since recent "AAA" times, we are discovering that erosion control programs cannot be inaugurated or carried out successfully on a narrow or exclusive basis of applied physical science. Retainer dams, terracing, crop rotation, contour cultivation, and other mechanical measures advocated by soil experts, perhaps may be

¹ C. F. Steward Sharpe, "What Is Soil Erosion?" *U.S.D.A. Misc. Pub. No. 286*, February, 1938. See also *U.S.D.A. Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940, pp. 430-431.

² For historical notes on soil conservation see: Milton Whitney, *Soil and Civilization*, Van Nostrand Co., 1925, p. 207. H. H. Bennett, *Soil Conservation*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1930, Ch. II, "Erosion and Civilization," pp. 16-54. Sir William Ramsey, "A Sketch of the Geographical History of Asia Minor," *The National Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 42, Nov. 1922, pp. 553-570. Austin Earle Burges, *Soil Erosion Controls*, Turner E. Smith & Co., 1937, p. 5. See also Russell Lord, "To Hold This Soil," *U.S.D.A. Misc. Pub. No. 321*, August 1938, for a general historical treatment of certain aspects of erosion. For an excellent presentation of federal participation in soil conservation see: *U.S.D.A. Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940, pp. 432-439; Havemeyer, Loomis (editor), *Conservation of Our Natural Resources* (Based on Van Hise's *The Conservation of Our Natural Resources in the United States*), The Macmillan Co., 1930. Quincy Claude Ayres, *Soil Erosion and Its Control*, The McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1936, p. 17.

necessary for soil conservation, and researches in the classification of soils and the effectiveness of various erosion control devices may prove useful; but in a democratic social order dominated by free enterprise the value of such measures is ultimately conditioned by the intelligence and the goodwill of the owners and the users of the land. To illustrate: a soils conservation specialist, in discussing the Great Plains Region of the West, recently declared that scientists already know enough about the physical aspects of the erosion of that region to insure the success of conservation efforts there; nevertheless, he confessed a sense of defeat simply because the people using the land did not fully accept the findings of science. In other words, there is a *man* side of the man-land relationship in erosion control that cannot be ignored if conservation programs are to be successful.

Careful students of man-land relationships have recognized the validity of this conclusion. Their study of the experience of the federal government and other agencies in dealing with land settlement, farm credit, farm tenancy, the non-agricultural use of land, taxation, zoning, the standards of living of farm families, and a host of similar problems, has convinced them that erosion control is as much a challenge to the social sciences as it is to the physical sciences. On the whole, because of the emphasis heretofore given the physical aspects of the problem, intelligent people generally are beginning to believe that the bottleneck of erosion control today is the human or the social factor expressed in the folkways of the people, their level of intelligence, and the adequacy of their community life.³ Now it is becoming

³ For illustrations in the field of forest fire control, see for example: John P. Shea, et al., *Man-caused Forest Fires: The Psychologist Makes a Diagnosis*, Forest Service of the U.S.D.A., Psychological Studies, January, 1939. John P. Shea, *Getting*

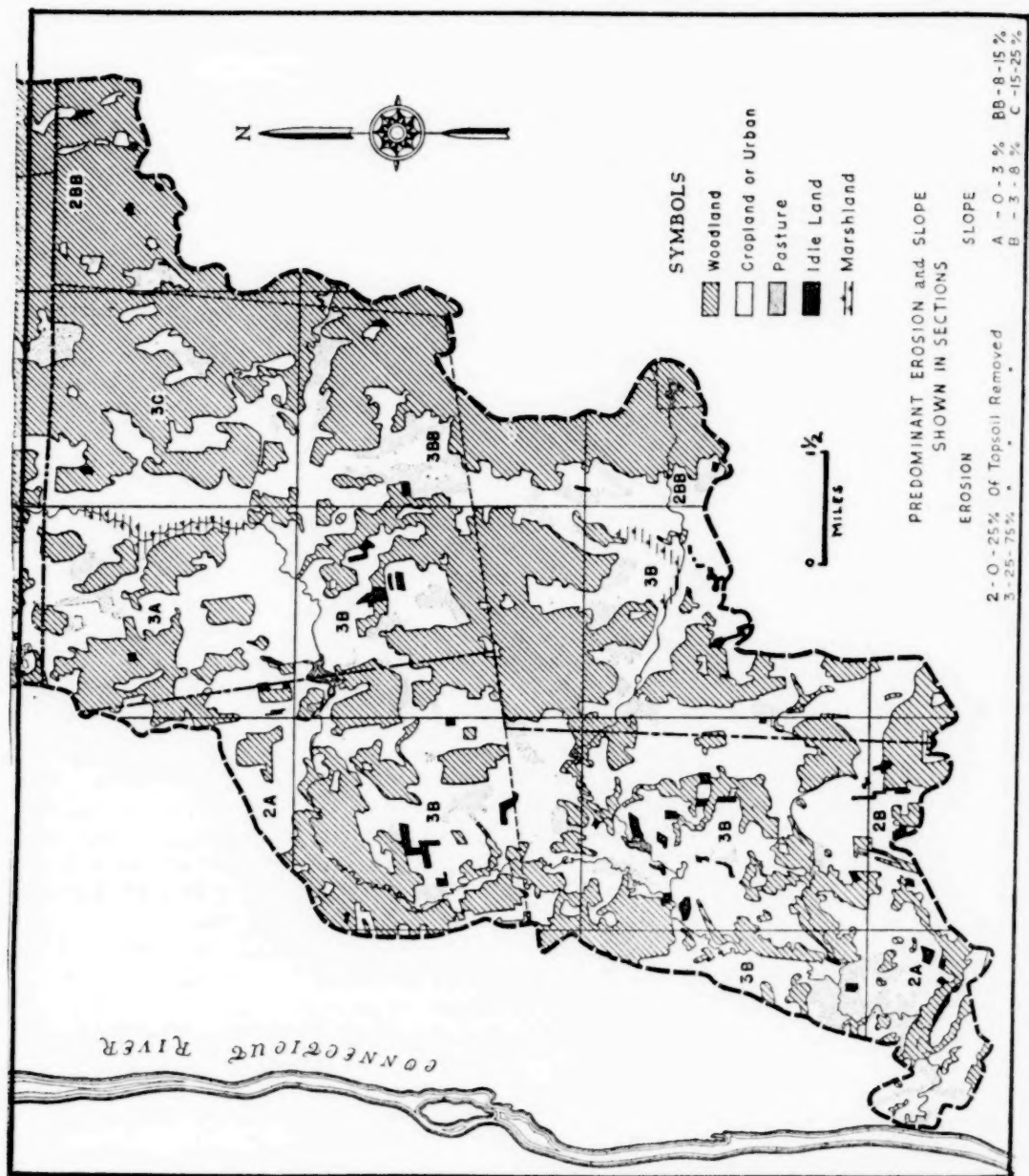


FIGURE 3. Map of the Susquehanna River Watershed Indicating Land Use and Erosion Conditions.

clear that the social and the physical aspects of erosion are concomitant processes, for each, if extended, tends to produce the other. Thus if soil erosion in a farming community reaches an advanced stage, the struggle to survive becomes acute, and excessive woman and child labor, malnutrition and other baleful results ensue; on the other hand, an ignorant, self-seeking, "Joad" sort of social order will ultimately destroy a Garden of Eden. Finally, we are led to suspect that because of marked variations in the physical and social factors in the man-land relationship, interest in erosion control may and should vary from locality to locality, for in some case-type situations erosion would be of little importance, while in others it would be of the utmost concern.

The relationship of the various factors in the man-land equation have had some research attention thus far, but a vast amount of such research, projected upon a sound basis of land economics, cultural anthropology and other sciences, yet needs to be done.⁴ It is the purpose of the present article, therefore, to give a partial report upon a case-study of erosion control in a New England locality, paying some attention to method as well as to content. It is hoped that the suggestions herein may stimulate similar

researches in other case-type situations in this country.

II. THE CASE OF THE SCANTIC RIVER VALLEY

The Area Selected for Study: The territory coming under the purview of this particular case-study of the social factors related to erosion is the Scantic River watershed in northern Connecticut and southern Massachusetts. The Connecticut portion, including all or a part of the Towns of East Windsor, South Windsor, Ellington, Somers, Enfield, and Stafford, is the limited area of our present study. The Scantic River valley was selected for this study for two reasons:

First, in 1936 the U. S. Soil Conservation Service began here a five-year program to demonstrate erosion control. This program was preceded by a survey of erosion by the same agency, projected upon an aerial map. The results of this work were made available for the present study.⁵

Second, it seemed important to discover the social significance of erosion in this, one of the better farming sections of Connecticut. Until fairly recently, this valley was devoted largely to the production of cigar tobacco, but a decrease in the demand for this type of tobacco, it is alleged, led to a shifting from tobacco-growing to potato-growing and other uses of land. This shifting called for a change in agricultural practices. When the land was growing tobacco, the crop was harvested in time to permit sowing a winter cover crop to prevent erosion. But when this land was devoted to potato-growing, and late maturing varieties were planted, the crop matured so late that it was difficult or impossible to plant suitable winter cover crops. A shift in tenure, as well as in land use, seems to have had a bearing on erosion here.

Classification of Soils by Degrees of Erosion: The U. S. Soil Conservation Service made a detailed classification of soils as to degrees and kinds of erosion, using the conventional symbols for such classification.

⁵ P. H. Montgomery, *Erosion and Related Land Use Conditions in the Scantic River Watershed, Connecticut-Massachusetts*, U.S.D.A. Soil Conservation Service Bulletin, March, 1939.

at the *Roots of Man-caused Forest Fires: A Case-Study of a Southern Area*, Forest Service, U.S.D.A., Fire Prevention Studies, Series A, No. 2, 1940; *Ibid.*, "Design for Forest Fire Prevention in the South," (Mimeographed) a paper read before the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Forestry Association, Biloxi, Mississippi, 1940 (Forest Service, U.S.D.A.). Harold F. Kaufman, *A Psycho-social Study of the Cause and Prevention of Forest Fires in Clark National Forest, June-October 1938*, M.A. Thesis, University of Missouri (Mimeographed) Forest Service, U.S.D.A. 1939.

⁴ See Schickele and Himmel, *Socio-economic Phases of Soil Conservation in the Tarkio Creek Area*, Iowa State College Research Bulletin 241, Oct., 1938. Fielder and Lindstrom, *Land Use and Family Welfare in Pope County* (Mimeographed), Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, University of Illinois and B.A.E. of U.S.D.A., cooperating. F. D. Cornell, Jr., *A Social and Economic Survey of Spencer Soil-Conservation Area*, West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 269, April 1936.

However, in the present study, the original classification was generalized considerably and reported in abridged form on a base map, presented here as Figure I.

Erosion and Land Use: The classification of erosion according to land use was also made by the Soil Conservation Service for the entire Scantic River area, and is summarized in Table 1. The last column of this table, however, indicates percentage distribu-

apparent erosion and land with slight erosion (less than 25 per cent of surface soil lost) constitute the *less* eroded division in the new classification, and land with moderate, severe, and very severe erosion constitute the *more* eroded division, that is, have lost 25 per cent or more of the surface soil.

In order to interpolate the data of Table 1 slightly, we should note that 30.5 per cent, or a little over 21,000 acres of the total land

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF EROSION IN EACH LAND USE CLASS IN THE ENTIRE WATERSHED*

Degree and kind of erosion	LAND USE										
	Cropland		Idle land		Pasture		Woodland		Entire Watershed		Conn. Sample
	Acres	Percent	Acres	Percent	Acres	Percent	Acres	Percent	Acres	Percent	Percent
1. None apparent Recent alluvial or colluvial deposits	25.8 631.4	0.1 3.0	16.4 151.3	0.6 5.7	130.6 880.6	1.6 10.6	5,482.1 705.4	14.8 1.9	5,654.9 2,377.7	8.2 3.4	1.5
2. Slight: By water only By wind and water combined	13,704.0 5.1	65.0 **	1,218.1 0	45.7 —	4,003.0 0	47.6 —	27,248.4 0	73.6 —	46,173.5 5.1	66.7 **	
Total	13,709.1	65.0	1,218.1	45.7	4,003.0	47.6	27,248.4	73.6	46,178.6	66.7	60.1
3. Moderate: By water only By wind and water combined	6,533.8 41.7	31.0 .2	1,072.6 20.4	40.2 .8	3,219.0 8.6	38.3 .1	3,260.5 106.2	8.8 .3	14,085.9 176.9	20.4 .2	
Total	6,575.5	31.2	1,093.0	41.0	3,227.6	38.4	3,366.7	9.1	14,262.8	20.6	34.5
4. Severe: By water only By wind only By wind and water combined	151.6 0 3.8	.7 — **	124.6 38.1 0	4.8 1.4 —	123.3 24.2 0	1.5 .3 —	175.1 28.4 0	.4 .1 —	574.6 90.7 3.8	.9 .1 **	
Total	155.4	.7	162.7	6.2	147.5	1.8	203.5	.5	669.1	1.0	0.7
5. Very severe: By water only By wind and water combined	0 0	— —	22.4 0	.8 —	3.3 0	** —	17.3 13.8	.1 **	43.0 13.8	.1 **	
Unaccounted for Total	0	—	22.4	.8	3.3	**	31.1	.1	56.8	.1	5.1
Grand total	21,097.2	100.0	2,663.9	100.0	8,401.6	100.0	37,037.2	100.0	69,199.9	100.0	100.0

* With the exception of last column, this table was taken from P. H. Montgomery, *Erosion and Related Land Use Conditions in the Scantic River Watershed, Connecticut-Massachusetts*, Soil Conservation Service, U. S. D. A., March, 1930, p. 9.

** Less than 0.1 percent.

tion in the Connecticut area only, from data gathered in the present study.

The acreage in the categories occupying the first, the fourth and the fifth steps of this classification are important to this study in a negative sense because these data indicate that *no* erosion, *severe*, and *very severe* erosion are of negligible significance here. Therefore, we have generalized these five classes of erosion into the *less* eroded land and the *more* eroded land. Land with no

in this watershed, is devoted to crops. Of land so used, 68.1 per cent, or 14,366.3 acres, is in the less eroded class. Likewise, 31.9 per cent, or 6,730.9 acres, has suffered moderate to very severe erosion. The amount of crop land actually in the severely eroded class is negligible (0.7 per cent), and no crop land appears in the very severely eroded class.

It appears further that 53.5 per cent of the area is woodland. The woodland has

suffered the least erosion of any other land use, since only 9.7 per cent of its acreage has lost 25 per cent or more of its top soil. It also appears that nearly half of the idle land (48 per cent), and somewhat less than that percentage of the pasture land (40.2), have lost 25 per cent or more of their top soil (Figure 2). The heavier apparent loss of top soil on idle and pasture lands is probably due

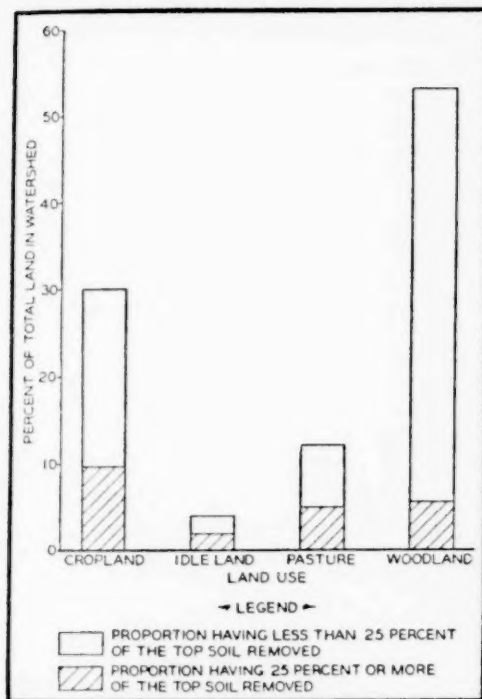


FIGURE 2. Land Use and Erosion.

to the fact that for a time these lands were actively farmed, and in such a way as to accent erosion. Thus they became submarginal for active cultivation and were abandoned to rough pasture and sprout land. In a few years much of these lands will probably be classified as woodland.

Montgomery summarizes briefly the erosion that is taking place here in these words: "Although erosion is not generally serious, sufficient damage has occurred to indicate the need for corrective measures, particularly on land where tobacco and potatoes are grown."⁶

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 9.

The passing of submarginal farm land into idle land, pasture, and woodland classes, and protective attention given to a great deal of land actively farmed, as we shall show later, probably justify Montgomery's statement.

The Sociological Survey: The sociological survey in this study was accomplished by a questionnaire. Trained field workers interviewed 602 farmers in the area, locating their farms on an erosion base map and gathering detailed information. The distribution of the farms, according to degrees of erosion, is set forth in Table 2. It is to be seen that

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS, BY DEGREES OF EROSION

(Connection portion of Scantic River Valley)

Degrees of Erosion	Number of Farms	Per cent of Farms
1	9	1.5
2	367	61.0
3	207	34.4
4	4	.6
5	—	—
N.A.*	15	2.5
Total	602	100.0

* Not Available. Also includes a few cases of overlapping in cases of tenant farms where both the landlords and the tenants were surveyed.

the farms are distributed among the various degrees of erosion in practically the same proportion as the acreages of land noted in the last column of Table 1.

The items surveyed in the questionnaire are:

Length of time engaged in farming here, according to farm-type (tobacco, dairy, poultry, etc.)

Size-trends in farming enterprises for past 10 years, according to farm-type

Distribution of farms by size

Dominant types of farming

Home (and farm) tenure (owned, mortgaged, rented, etc.)

Amount of mortgage and rental

Farms and separate acreages rented, by farm-types

Vocational background of farmers and their wives, by farm-types

National origins of farmers
 Labor resources on farms, both family and hired
 Labor exchanged with neighbors
 Non-farm employment of farmers and their families
 Partnership and corporate farms
 Labor-saving farm equipment
 Organizational memberships of farmers and their families
 Means of communication
 Households possessing a classified list of conveniences (house scores)
 Types of dwelling houses
 Attitudes of farmers and their families toward farming
 Farmers who feel the need for better social life for the family and the community
 Contacts made with the County Agricultural and Home Demonstration Agents
 Awareness of erosion
 Types of families (normal, broken, non-family)
 Size of household
 Number of living children (size of family)
 Age of farmers
 Age distribution of population
 Schooling of farmers

Farm Types and Erosion: It is impractical, in an article of this sort, to present statistical tables setting forth detailed analyses of all these items, according to degree of erosion of the land involved, but we shall illustrate how this was done by presenting Figure 3. Figure 3 summarizes graphically how the acreages in the major types of farming are distributed according to the two classes of erosion. Farm-types, both as to major products produced and as to commercial importance, were classified in terms of the man-work-unit. The M-W-U is the number of 10-hour days of labor required during the year for the care of an animal or an acre of crops. Arbitrary units for farm types were ascribed in this manner: less than 50 M-W-U in the production of commodities used by the family constitutes the resident farm; 50 to 149 M-W-U in the production of commodities devoted to some specialties in which surpluses are sold is the semi-commercial farm; and 150 M-W-U and over devoted to one or more specialties which are largely marketed is the commercial farm.

If we keep in mind that roughly two-thirds of the total acreage, as well as of the total number of farms, fall within the *less* eroded class, and one-third in the *more* eroded class, we can see how each type of farming varies from the norm. A few farm-types seem to be concentrated slightly above the two-thirds norm on the less eroded class of land. These include tobacco combination,

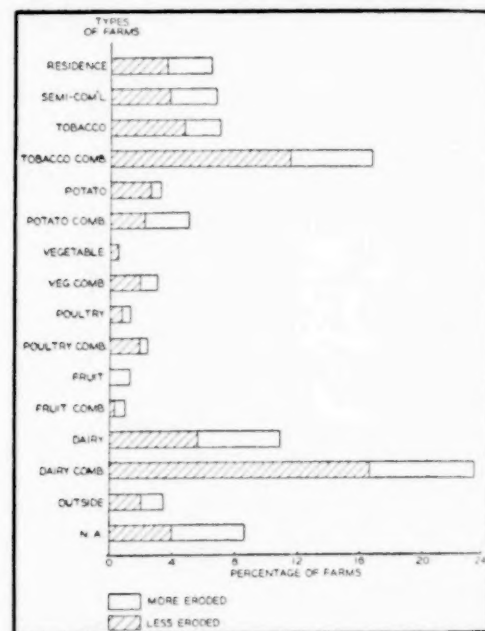


FIGURE 3. Farm Types and Erosion.

potatoes, poultry, poultry combination, and especially vegetable farming. But only three farms are devoted wholly to commercial vegetable growing—a number too few for statistical analysis. In the more eroded class of farms, commercial fruit growing seems to be out of line with the one-third norm; but only two farms are devoted to this type of business. On the whole, one is impressed by the closeness with which the distribution of farm-types approaches the norms set by the distribution of land and farms between the two classes of erosion. The same can be said of the various other items of comparison listed above.

Chi-square: The hypothesis basic to this study is that the social characteristics of the population of this watershed are distributed

spatially in the same proportion as the erosion classes of the soil and farms of the area. The tenability of this hypothesis was tested by computing *chi-square*, which shows whether the social factors observed in the families in each of the two erosion classes of farms differ significantly from what would be expected if the factor of erosion had operated without effect. Therefore, we selected a few items of comparison upon which some question existed, and tested them by the *chi-square* device.⁷ The results are presented in Table 3.

P falling within the limits of 0.1 and 0.9. National origins, on the other hand, in some way seemed linked with the erosion factor. The odds were less than 1 in 60 ($P = .016$) that the different national origins, as divided originally into 12 classes, could have shown so marked a variation in the proportion of farms on the more eroded land, if due to chance alone. The observed values ranged from 16 per cent for 50 farmers of Lithuanian origin to 64 per cent for 11 farmers coming from Russia. Since these two national origins were from Eastern Europe, they were

TABLE 3. THE CHI-SQUARE TEST

Social Factors	Number of Classes	Chi-square	Probability (P) that Differences between Classes Are Due to Chance
Type of Farming	9	7.364	.50
Number of Farm Background Traits	4	2.105	.55
Location by Towns	6	7.528	.18
Locality of Birth of Entrepreneur (Farm, country, city)	3	0.798	.66
Home Tenure	3	0.335	.86
Years Resident	8	5.786	.57
Home Score	11	11.604	.31
Age of Entrepreneur	7	2.638	.76
National Origins	12	23.265	.016
National Origins*	11	14.374	.16

* Combining Lithuanians and Russians in a single class.

The values of *chi-square* are presented in the third column of this table. In order to interpret these values, we need to know how often the observed values would be expected to occur by chance alone, if in reality the factor of erosion was without effect. These values are measured in terms of probability, or P , and the P -values are stated in the last column. According to Fisher, if P is between 0.1 and 0.9, there is no reason to suspect the hypothesis under consideration.

It is to be observed that the P -values of the first eight items of this table are of a magnitude which might be expected if they were independent of the influence of erosion,

grouped into a single category to test whether the apparent effect of this social factor would persist. *Chi-square* computed with this single change is given in the last line of this table. It dropped so decisively ($P = .16$) that the apparent effect of national origins can be traced almost entirely to the contrast between these two national origins. Therefore, *national origins*, in its broader sense, cannot be considered significantly related to the factor of soil erosion.

Thus, the values of *chi-square* were consistent with our original findings that degree of erosion is not a significant determinant of the distribution of the social characteristics of the population of this area, and hence that between the distribution of these social characteristics and degree of soil erosion, as defined in this study, there seems to be no significant causal relationship.

⁷ The form of *chi-square* used in these computations is that for the " $2 \times n$ " classification" given by R. A. Fisher in Section 21 of his *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (4th edition), Oliver & Boyd, 1932.

Other Factors: If *degree* of erosion cannot be considered as a causal variant in the social characteristics of the population in this valley, are there *other* relationships between some aspects of erosion and the social characteristics of the people which may be noted? In this connection we analyzed the economic interest of the landholders in farming, and the farm background of landowners,

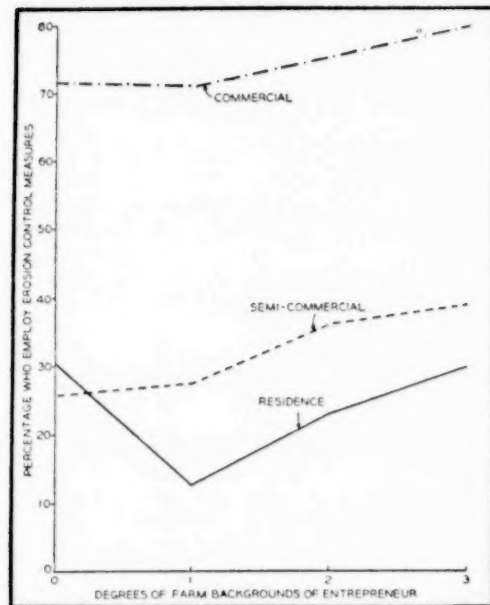


FIGURE 4. Commercial Interest in Farming and the Vocational Experience of Farmers as Related to the Employment of Erosion Control Measures.

0 = No farm experience on part of the farmer, his father or his mother.

1 = Farm experience by *one* person listed above.

2 = Farm experience by *two* persons listed above.

3 = Farm experience by *three* persons listed above.

as these are related to the employment of erosion control measures. These analyses are summarized in Figure 4. Here the analysis shifts from *degree* of erosion as a point of comparison to the actual *use* of erosion control measures, regardless of the erosion class of land.

When we select particular items from the original data upon which Figure 4 is constructed it is apparent that the commercial intent of farmers has a positive relationship with their inclination to conserve their soil. Our original data show, for example, that

only 23 out of 83 (27 per cent) of the holders of nonfarm land, regardless of size of holdings, profess to employ erosion control measures. Either the need for erosion control, or otherwise the interest in erosion control, by this fairly large group of landholders is such as not to lead to serious effort toward erosion control. The same general observation may be made of the holders of farm land broken up into small farm units. The holders of farms less than 10 acres in size, and especially of those less than five acres in size, show relatively little interest in soil conservation. Only 95 out of 231 (41 per cent) of the holders of farms of less than five acres in size profess to employ erosion control measures. Such small holdings are probably valued more for their residential than their agricultural use. In contrast, when the farms approach commercial size, more interest in erosion-control is manifested. On commercial farms of 30 acres and over, practically all holders profess to use erosion control measures.

Further inspection of our original data makes it apparent that certain farmtypes of commercial operators employ erosion preventive measures more than other types do. It is significant that 24 out of 26 commercial tobacco farmers profess to employ such measures; eight out of nine commercial potato growers do the same; and similar large percentages of farmers in the combination types of these two specialties try to conserve their soil. The fact that commercial potato and tobacco growers have continued here successfully for several decades is evidence that they have used soil conservation measures effectively, when needed, or else they would not be in business today. But commercial poultry farming and dairy farming, as single-types, and to some extent their combination types, seem to be out of line with what we might logically expect of larger-scale farming. However, our general knowledge of this situation leads us to suspect that farmers of these particular specialty types actually do more toward erosion control than they credit themselves with. For example, in dairying much of the rough upland is devoted to pasture, and upon the

smoother land that is cultivated, barn-yard manure, as a rule, is applied. Both the growing of pasture grasses and the application of manure to cultivated areas are erosion-control measures. Furthermore, large poultry growers, very much as dairymen, purchase most of their grain, which reduces the amount of land devoted to cultivated crops and hence to exposure to erosion. On the whole, much of the land devoted to commercial dairying and commercial poultry raising, as well as to residence, subsistence and part-time farming, is the rougher and steeper land taken out of cultivation and given over to noncultivated crops or non-farm uses. Hence, such land is out of serious danger of erosion.

Thus to summarize the data presented graphically by Figure 4 it seems clear that, in erosion control, commercial interest in farming is far more important than the ownership of non-agricultural land, or the agricultural background of farmers. Semi-commercial and residential farms, regardless of the size of holdings or the sort of previous farm experience of the owners, receive relatively little attention toward erosion control; on the other hand, commercial farms, sufficiently large to be important, and regardless of the farm background of their owners, receive extensive attention toward erosion control.

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The picture of soil erosion which we have drawn for this New England locality, in some respects, seems out of focus with the over-all picture often presented by soil experts. Erosion in some parts of the United States has been so important as to cause population to abandon the land, or otherwise suffer economic hardships; but within the scope and locale of the present study, erosion cannot be considered of major concern. Yet when we examine the larger physical and socio-economic backgrounds of this local picture, our findings seem consistent.

Physical Background: All of New England, at one time, rested under the primaeval ice sheet. This accounts for the varied topography, soil composition, stoniness,

swampiness, and other physical factors which render much of this area entirely unsuited to extractive farming, and accounts for the physical characteristics of limited areas which are conducive to many specialty-types of farming, ranging from cranberry growing in certain bog areas to commercial tobacco and potato growing in the lighter river valley soils. It accounts also, in part, for commercial fruit-growing and market gardening, in limited soil areas, and to a less extent for dairying, poultry-farming, part-time and other small subsistence farming enterprises which are widely interspersed throughout the state and limited not so much by the physical characteristics of the soil and topography as by certain socio-economic factors which will be discussed later.

The non-farm side of the picture is seen in the vast forest areas concentrated largely in the three northern states of the New England section, and especially in Maine. But more than half the Scantic River Valley, one of the better farming sections of Connecticut, is in woodland (Fig. 2). Throughout the entire New England region are dispersed beautiful fresh-water lakes and streams, and rough hillsides and valleys covered with lush grass and second-growth native trees and brush. And from the border of Canada to New York City is stretched one of the most varied and picturesque shorelines that can be found outside the fjords of Scandinavia. Such variety makes the area attractive to tourists and to those who seek a pleasant place to live. This use of land does not compete with its agricultural use, except in a very limited way, for good farm land and residential and recreational land, for the most part, are separate and perform separate but complementary functions in the social order.

Socio-Economic Backgrounds: The situation just described, combined with nearness to large urban centers, a fine system of hard roads, and nearness to many places of historic interest, has made New England the summer playground of the nation. Not only that, but the polyglot populations of New York, Boston, and other eastern cities have poured out into the rural areas and have

brought them varied vocational and cultural interests. These peoples, together with native stocks, represent all conditions of culture and wealth and an equally wide variety in vocations and professions, including many who work in the city but live in the country.

What does this socio-economic situation mean to the conservation of the soil? For one thing, growth in the non-farm, or quasi-farm use of certain lands tends to hasten the removal of such land from extractive farming. This not only works toward the conservation of the soil, but toward deepening the distinction between commercial farming on the one hand, and part-time farming and non-farming on the other. This study indicates further that this trend in the use of

land cannot be charged, to any appreciable extent, to soil erosion, but rather to the varied natural character of the land, to nearness to the large cities, good roads, etc. Furthermore, since much of the best farm land is devoted to large commercial enterprises, it is in the hands of men capable of conserving the soil from erosion—a conclusion supported by decades of successful commercial farming on such soil.

Thus in contrast with many other sections of the United States, New England presents a varied physical and cultural scene which adds not only variety to human interest, but also certain problems and some easements in the field of soil conservation that are probably not entirely duplicated elsewhere.

THE ECOLOGY OF PLURALITIES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

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AND

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EVERY literate American knows of the Solid South in American politics. Many rural Americans entertain an attitude of abhorrence for political machines of large cities. Contemporaneously, at least in the North and East, this condition arises from the loyalties of city folk to the Democratic party and the traditional attachments of rural people to the Republican. Also, we know that majorities on the plains have vacillated between traditional Republicanism and the parties of protest.

As we might suspect, majorities attained in any region, state, or city are not evenly distributed. Too few of us know the relationship existing between political minorities and spatial location. With the exception of practical politicians, who are intent upon maintaining pluralities for themselves or reducing them for their opponents, too many citizens are not acquainted with the spatial patterns by which party loyalties are revealed. Where, for example, are the Republican wards of Chicago? The Republican as-

sembly districts of New York City? The Democratic wards of Philadelphia? The precincts or wards controlled by political minorities in the reader's city? Are these political entities contiguous or scattered? Do they bear any relationship to national origins, to religious affiliations, to vocational identifications, to recognized class and caste? Is there an ecological pattern that can be determined? Is the pattern sustained for successive elections? If so, what spatial arrangements can be detected? Based on guesses, many readers can make reasonably accurate answers to these questions. However, we need more specific documentation of the relationships existing between political loyalties and community affiliations.

Such loyalties and affiliations are all the more striking when they can be assembled, not from metropolitan centers nor from isolated rural areas, but from a small urban center. This is especially so when such small urban communities reveal a relatively high degree of cultural homogeneity. The material

of this study was gathered in Bloomington, located in central Illinois. As shown in Table I, this city has experienced a comparatively slight growth during recent decades. Its maturity is reflected in a relatively stationary population and also in the decline of conspicuous minorities. Legislative restrictions on immigration afford an easy explanation to the decrease in the number of persons of foreign birth. Similarly, because of limited industrialization, the community has experienced a comparable loss of Negroes.

TABLE I. POPULATION OF BLOOMINGTON
BY DECADES, 1910-1940

Year	Number
1910	25,768
1920	28,725
1930	30,930
1940	32,868

The city, settled slightly more than a century ago, felt the impact after the Civil War of conspicuous groups of Irish, of German, and of Swedish immigrants. Three flourishing Roman Catholic churches and two well-established Lutheran congregations maintain their edifices within the western half of the city. With parishioners predominantly of Irish background, two of the Catholic churches are situated in the northwestern quarter of the city. Here, too, is located one of the United Brethren churches. In the southwestern quarter of the city are found the institutional evidences of German and of Swedish settlements. Among these are a Roman Catholic church of German background, a Lutheran church recruiting its members from persons of German nationality, and a Lutheran church with affiliations of Swedish lineage. Also, in this section of the city is a Methodist church whose members are drawn largely from the ranks of employees.

As in many communities, craftsmen, proprietors, professional people, as well as farm owners and farm managers have emerged from these national and religious groups. The maintenance of a division point on a main-line railroad and the mechanical work in the railroad shops have furnished other sources of employment. While the labor

movement is easily recognized, nevertheless it has been consistent in its traditional conservatism. In the midst of the Corn Belt, there is an awareness of farm prices, land values, agricultural processing, crop rotations, and landlord-tenant relationships.

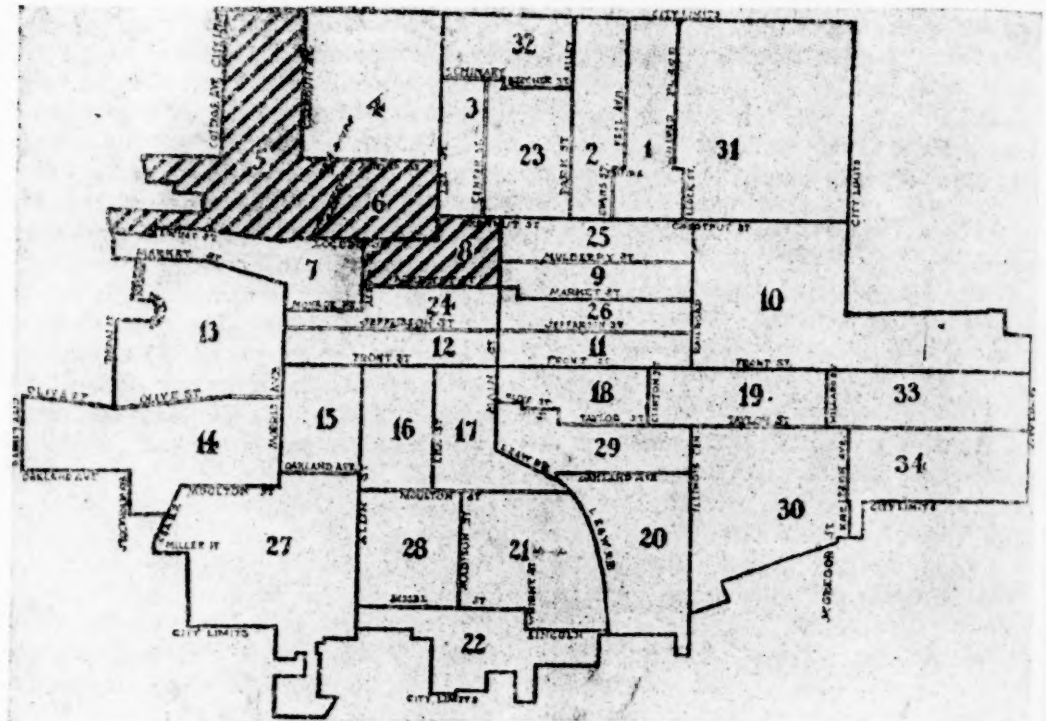
Similar to all communities, there is a consciousness of class and caste. As a mature community, with its eyes turned to the past, there can be observed the usual manifestations of status. Everyone seems to be aware of the cleavage between the "East Side" and the "West Side." With scarcely a single exception, professional men—doctors, lawyers, and dentists—live east of Main Street. Residences of teachers are conspicuously absent in at least two of the city's school districts. Good taste does not permit these demarcations to reveal themselves in open hostility. However, the criteria of class and caste might be enumerated and each might be explored.

As in most communities, one index of status consists of recognized political affiliations. The genteel, the well born, the schooled, and the propertied belong to one class and largely to one political party. Standing in contrast are those less conscious of family, possessions, background, and institutional contacts. As is frequently found, the cleavage places persons of Irish background into traditional loyalty to the Democratic party; people of Swedish origin together with many German Protestants into customary alliance with the Republicans. National origin, religion, and economic status, when nurtured by the warm hand of tradition, constitute the conventional lines on which partisanship rests.

In this paper examination will be made of the cleavage represented in the results of the last five presidential elections, 1928 to 1944. Conventionally and traditionally a Republican city, Bloomington is the principal center of population in a county which is even more attached to Republicanism than the city itself. In these five elections, the Republicans achieved their greatest triumph in 1928 when President Hoover defeated Governor Smith; the Democrats in 1936 when Governor Landon was the Republican

nominee. Mr. Roosevelt managed to take a substantial lead in 1932 and again in 1936. However, if other proof of prevailing Republicanism is lacking, his loss of the city in 1940 and again in 1944 clearly indicates the

Bloomington, and even with the prevailing Republicanism of the city. Also, it is in harmony with consistent Democratic pluralities in these three precincts and with the presence of many Irish Catholics in the north-



Maps by courtesy of the Daily Pantagraph, Bloomington, Ill.

FIGURE 1. Shaded Area: Precincts carried by Democrats in 1928.

preponderance of Republicans over Democrats.

TABLE 2. PLURALITIES* IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN BLOOMINGTON, 1928-1944

Year	Republican	Democratic	Number of Precincts Democratic
1944	1,430		13
1940	759		15
1936		2,665	23
1932		1,738	22
1928	4,152		3

* Data compiled from records in the office of the City Election Commission.

As indicated in Figure 1, Governor Smith carried only three of the city's precincts in 1928. This is consistent with his overwhelming defeat in the nation, with his defeat in

western quarter of the city. However, as in many communities in the campaign of 1928, Smith's Catholicism was the cause of much defection from the Democratic ranks. Even Precinct 5, which was 82.1 per cent Democratic in 1936, gave only 60.7 per cent of its votes to Governor Smith in 1928. Precinct 6 gave President Roosevelt 77.0 and 78.9 per cent, respectively, of its votes in 1932 and in 1936 but in 1928 Smith received only 56.1 per cent. Precinct 8 gave Roosevelt 69.5 per cent of its votes in 1932 but in 1928 Smith managed to win only 50.2 per cent of the ballots. Smith's inability to carry more than three precincts accounts for Hoover's overwhelming plurality in the city. On the eastern side of the city the Democrats fared most poorly in 1928 when

they garnered only 21.8 per cent of the votes in Precinct 10 and 21.1 per cent in Precinct 30, thus falling considerably below the percentages attained by President Roosevelt in 1940. Apparently, continued prosperity under Hoover and Smith's Catholicism combined to provide a stronger magnet for the voters of higher incomes than opposition to the third term.

Of the 34 voting precincts in 1944, Mr.

6 and 7 gave the President his highest percentage of votes, each attaining 66.6. Precinct 5 ran a close third in loyalty by giving him 66.1 per cent of its votes. By contrast, Precincts 10, 33, and 34, located on the eastern fringe of the municipality, gave Governor Dewey the highest percentages. Respectively, these were 72.6, 76.2, and 71.6. At the ballot box, the "East Side" was in competition with the "West Side."

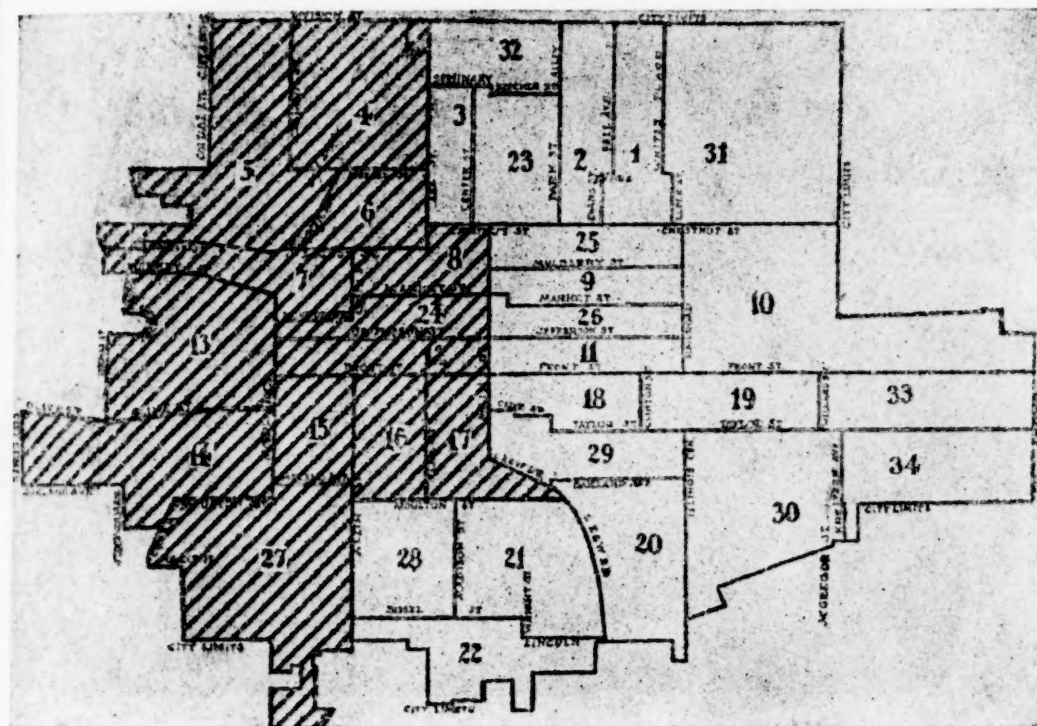


FIGURE 2. Shaded Area: Precincts carried by Democrats in 1944.

Roosevelt carried 13. These include the three which Governor Smith won in 1928. As shown in Figure 2, all of these 13 precincts are west of Main Street, the arterial north-south thoroughfare which carries two routes of U. S. highways. Furthermore, all of the 13 are contiguous. In Precinct 17, which abuts on Main Street, President Roosevelt received only 50.5 per cent of the votes. By contrast, much higher Roosevelt pluralities were attained in Precincts 4, 5, 6, and 7, located in close proximity to the railroad shops. In 1944, in the entire city, precincts

A similar condition prevailed in 1940 when President Roosevelt carried all of the 13 precincts which he won in 1944. In addition, he carried Precincts 3 and 32, on the northern fringe of the city, thereby continuing the contiguous pattern revealed in the returns for 1944. The precincts which President Roosevelt carried in 1940 are graphically represented in Figure 3. In this election Precincts 5, 6, and 7 gave President Roosevelt respectively 72.7, 69.0, and 68.5 per cent of the votes cast, percentages slightly higher than those he achieved in 1944. Again, on

the eastern side of the city, Precincts 10, 33, and 34 soared to percentages of 70.8, 76.6, and 76.1 for Mr. Willkie, percentages slightly higher than those attained by Governor Dewey in 1944.

In 1936, in the Landon campaign, President Roosevelt carried 23 precincts. These included the 15 subsequently won in 1940. In addition, he carried eight others. These were 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29 and 31. With

and 51.0 per cent of the votes cast. Because of his landslide in the city, President Roosevelt was able to overcome the traditional Republicanism of these precincts for only one election and then by only meager leads. Precinct 9, lying south of Precinct 25, gave Mr. Roosevelt only 46.1 per cent of its votes while Precinct 11, lying south of Precinct 26, gave the President only 42.0 per cent of the ballots cast.

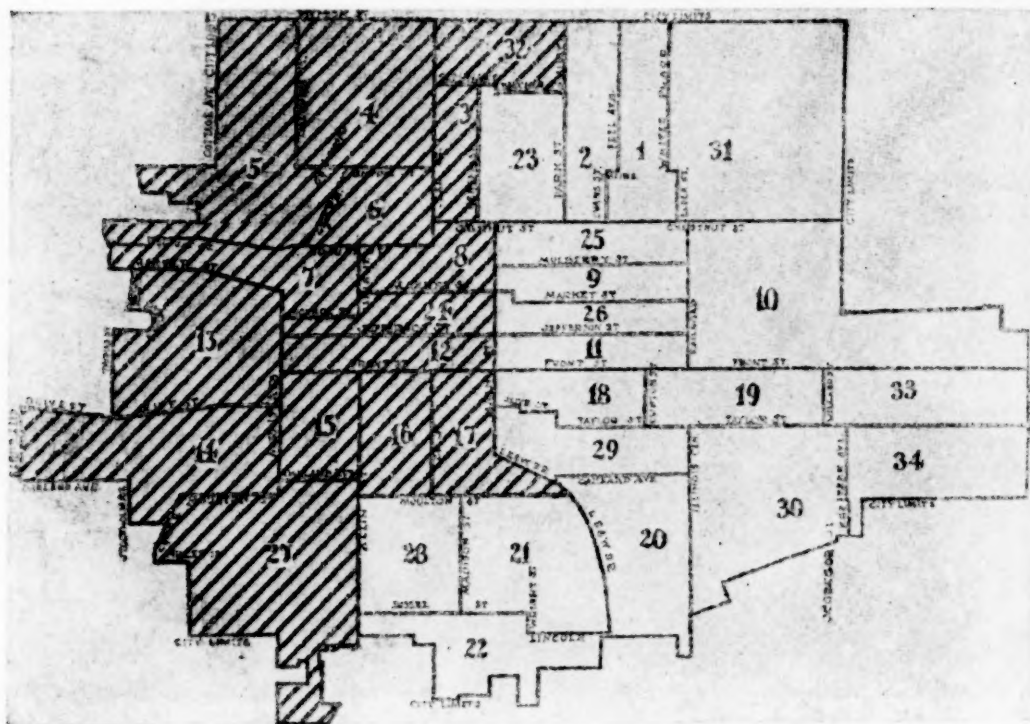


FIGURE 3. Shaded Area: Precincts carried by Democrats in 1940.

the exception of Precinct 31, all of these voting districts are contiguous. These are graphically shown in Figure 4. Again, the precincts nearest to the railroad shops showed the greatest loyalty to the President. Precincts 4, 5, 6, and 7 piled up percentages of 71.3, 82.1, 78.9, and 74.6 respectively, thereby establishing a voting ratio slightly higher than three to one. In Precincts 25 and 26, both extending eastward from Main Street by a substantial distance to the tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad, the President's leads, respectively, amounted to 51.4

As we move eastward in the city, Democratic majorities and loyalties diminish. As shown in Table 3, this can be illustrated by a west-east sequence of precincts—5, 6, 8, 9, and 10—bounded by or lying near to Locust Street, an arterial highway. In these precincts in 1936 we see Democratic pluralities declining from 79.4 in 5 to 39.9 per cent in 10. Also, in the southern half of the city we have another west-east sequence of precincts—14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 33—located adjacent to Front Street, with Democratic pluralities declining from 71.8 in 14

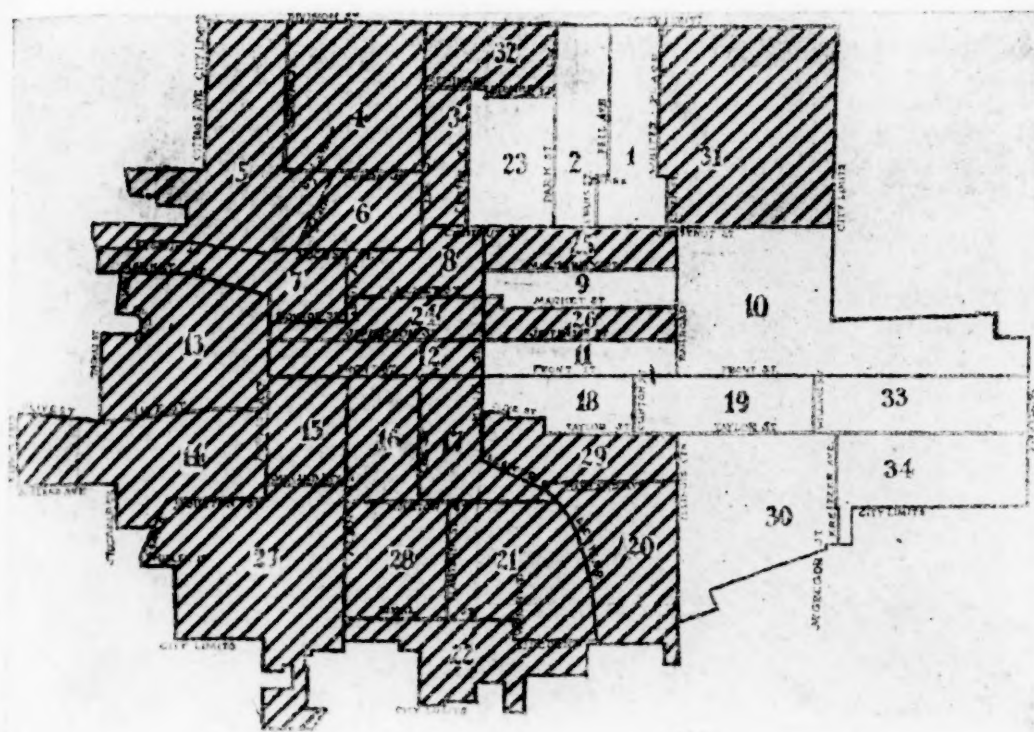


FIGURE 4. Shaded Area: Precincts carried by Democrats in 1936.

to 35.5 in 33. The prevailing loyalty in 1936 to the Democratic candidate in the northwestern corner of the city was offset again by a slightly reduced allegiance to the

TABLE 3. DEMOCRATIC PLURALITIES, BY PRECINCTS AND PERCENTAGES, ON WEST-EAST AXES, 1936

Precinct	Percentage
5	79.4
6	77.0
8	60.5
9	46.1
10	30.0
14	71.8
15	65.8
16	61.3
17	65.5
18	41.6
19	45.0
33	35.5

Republican candidate in the eastern precincts. Again, as shown in Table 4, Precincts 10, 33, and 34 gave Mr. Landon his highest

ratio of votes. Even though he suffered a severe defeat in the nation, in Illinois, and in Bloomington, these ratios are higher than three to two and constitute enormous odds in balloting.

With the overwhelming favor in which President Roosevelt stood at the conclusion of his first term, it is not surprising that his percentages, by precincts, on the eastern fringe of the city, were the largest that he ever won there. Also, that his percentages in the precincts west of Main Street were the highest of his four candidacies. As revealed in Table 2, this might be deduced from his plurality in 1936 of 2,665 votes. The range of the President's strength in his four candidacies, covering eight selected precincts, is shown in Table 4.

In 1932, as shown in Table 2, President Roosevelt had pluralities in 22 of the city's 34 precincts. These were substantially the same precincts as those carried in 1936. They were the same as the 15 he won in

1940, with seven additions, as follows: 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, and 31. This is given graphic representation in Figure 5. As in 1936 all of these, except Precinct 31, are contiguous. The percentages, respectively, in Precincts 4, 5, 6, and 7 were 64.3, 79.4, 77.0, and 75.8. The respective percentages for

precincts, in the support of President Roosevelt at the ballot box. As shown in Table 4, this ranges from 23.4 per cent of the votes in Precinct 33 in 1940 to 82.1 per cent in Precinct 5 in 1936. With voting ratios of approximately four to one, the political purists should pause before deploring some of

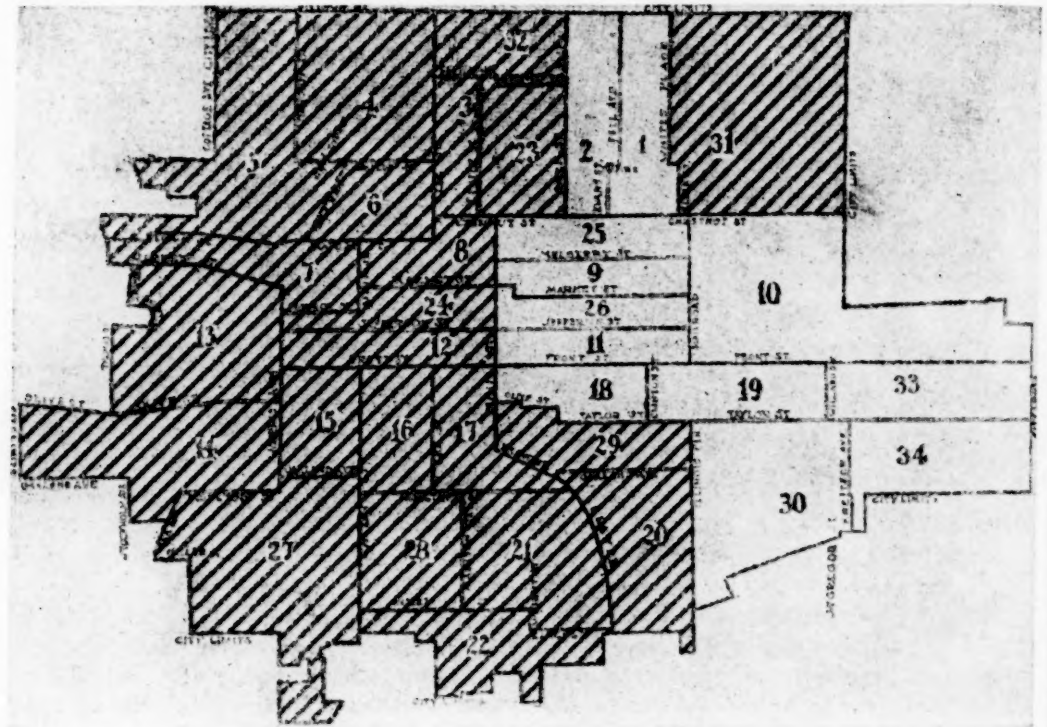


FIGURE 5. Shaded Area: Precincts carried by Democrats in 1932.

Mr. Hoover in Precincts 10, 33, and 34 were 65.4, 61.6, and 67.5.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGES OF VOTES CAST FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, BY PRECINCTS, 1932-1944

Precinct	1932	1936	1940	1944
4	64.3	71.3	66.8	60.5
5	79.4	82.1	72.7	66.1
6	77.0	78.0	60.0	66.6
7	75.8	74.6	68.5	66.6
10	34.6	30.9	29.2	27.4
30	41.2	46.6	35.6	26.7
33	38.4	35.5	23.4	23.8
34	32.5	38.7	23.9	28.4

In this community, highly homogeneous and mature, there is wide variation, by pre-

the majorities accumulated in large cities!

The precinct with the strongest Democratic affiliations is the fifth. This is in the heart of Bloomington's "Forty Acres," located back of the railroad shops where the modest homes of workingmen, embellished by a community center, a public school, a Catholic church, and a parochial school, furnish the prevailing pattern of residence. By contrast, the precinct with the strongest Republican affiliations is the thirty-third. Here, as in other portions of the "East Side," the comfortable and pretentious homes of professional men, executives, land owners, and owners of business furnish a conventional pattern of status and security.

For conclusion, we may say that:

1. Democratic pluralities of four to one in the northwestern portion of the city are offset by Republican pluralities of the same ratio in the precincts on the eastern side of the city.

2. Traditional attachments to the Democratic party decline as we move from the west to the east. As suggested, Precinct 5 stands in bold contrast to 33 and its neighbors. Conventional loyalty to the Democrats is offset by traditional support of the Republicans. Here, as elsewhere, party loyalties are closely associated with income, together with identification with the correct and prevailing institutions. By these tangible results, the community, in large measure, reveals its classes and castes, its social positions and social strata.

3. While Democrats carried 23 precincts in 1936, they won in only 24 different precincts in the five elections under consideration. If they carry the 18 precincts west of Main Street, the Democrats can win elections by slight margins. If their pluralities, however slight, cross Main Street as they did in 1936, they can emerge with large majorities. This suggests consistent strength in a limited area and reveals that, in a period covered by five presidential elections, political loyalties are maintained in an ecological arrangement.

4. This arrangement is sustained largely by such social phenomena as religion, economic status, nationality, and vocational

identifications. Catholicism, whether of German or of Irish nationality, is supplemented by strong vocational attachments which are derived from the railroad brotherhoods, affiliations with other craft unions, and employment in the railroad shops. West of Main Street voters are predominantly employee-minded. They do not belong to the managerial group.

5. With the exception of Precinct 31 in 1932 and again in 1936, all of the precincts won by the Democrats are solidly contiguous. Even in 1928, at a time of overwhelming defeat, their influence showed itself in the northwestern corner of the city. The elections which doubtless reveal the most typical loyalties are those of 1944 and of 1940, graphically represented in Figure 2 and Figure 3.

6. Three precincts were Democratic five times in five elections. Ten more were allied with the Democrats on four occasions. As we approach the center of the city we reach an area of slight Republican dominance, where 10 other precincts went into the Democratic column on one, two, or three occasions during the five elections. Or, approached from the eastern side of the city, the converse of this situation prevails.

7. While the contiguity of precincts, controlled by a specific party, is unique, it is reasonable to assume that similar patterns, even less conclusive, might be found in cities of comparable size and even in larger metropolitan centers.

WAR AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1910 TO 1943

WALTER A. LUNDEN*

WARs and revolutions have far reaching effects on the social behavior of a population. Some of these effects are direct or immediate while others are remote or indirect. Adult criminality, with the exception of a few types of offenses, tends to decrease during war, whereas juvenile offenses generally increase. When the adults of military age are in the armed services or under paramilitary discipline the potential offenders in a population move in a more restricted social world. The result, therefore, is a general decline in adult offenses in civil life. In contrast to this, juvenile delinquency within a nation usually increases. This condition was true for England, France and Germany during World War I.¹

Recent information for England extending over a period of two world wars now makes it possible to draw further conclusions on the problem. The writer has had an opportunity to observe conditions in England, to converse with individuals engrossed with the problem and to obtain factual data from the British Home Office.²

The available data under observation cover a 34-year period from 1910 to 1943 which includes World War I and World War II. The accompanying graph shows the number of youthful offenders found guilty in the courts of England and Wales charged

with indictable offenses. The shaded areas are the war years. The broken line represents the curve for the uncorrected data and includes a change in the number of court cases after 1934 due to the advance in the age limit of the court from 16 to 17 years.³

During the 34-year period the number of juvenile cases rose to two high points, both of which coincide with the two world wars. The years with the highest number of cases were 1917 and 1941 with a sharp increase in 1934, five years before the beginning of World War II.⁴

During the post-war years of 1919 to 1933 the number of court cases fell to a level comparable to that prior to World War I. While the curve reveals only the number of court convictions it does depict the real problems in England and Wales.

The social conditions which tend to affect the fluctuations in the amount of delinquency within a nation at war are manifold and often difficult to analyze because different individuals react differently to disordered conditions. The same conditions may make a hero out of one person and a coward out of another. Again, much depends on the internal conditions of a country, whether an industrial or a militant nation. Also due consideration must be given to

* Formerly at the University of Pittsburgh, now a prison officer with the Allied Military Government in Europe. The data for this article were collected while the author was stationed in England and had opportunity to study and observe the Prisons and Borstal institutions.

¹ Exceptions are to be noted in the increase of sexual offenses among women and adolescent groups. For a treatment of statistics on "War and Adult Crimes" see, W. A. Lunden, *Statistics on Crime and Criminals*, 1942, pp. 141-150.

² The writer is indebted to J. R. Alexander of Moberley Boys School North Knutsford, England for assistance in the collection of the data used herein.

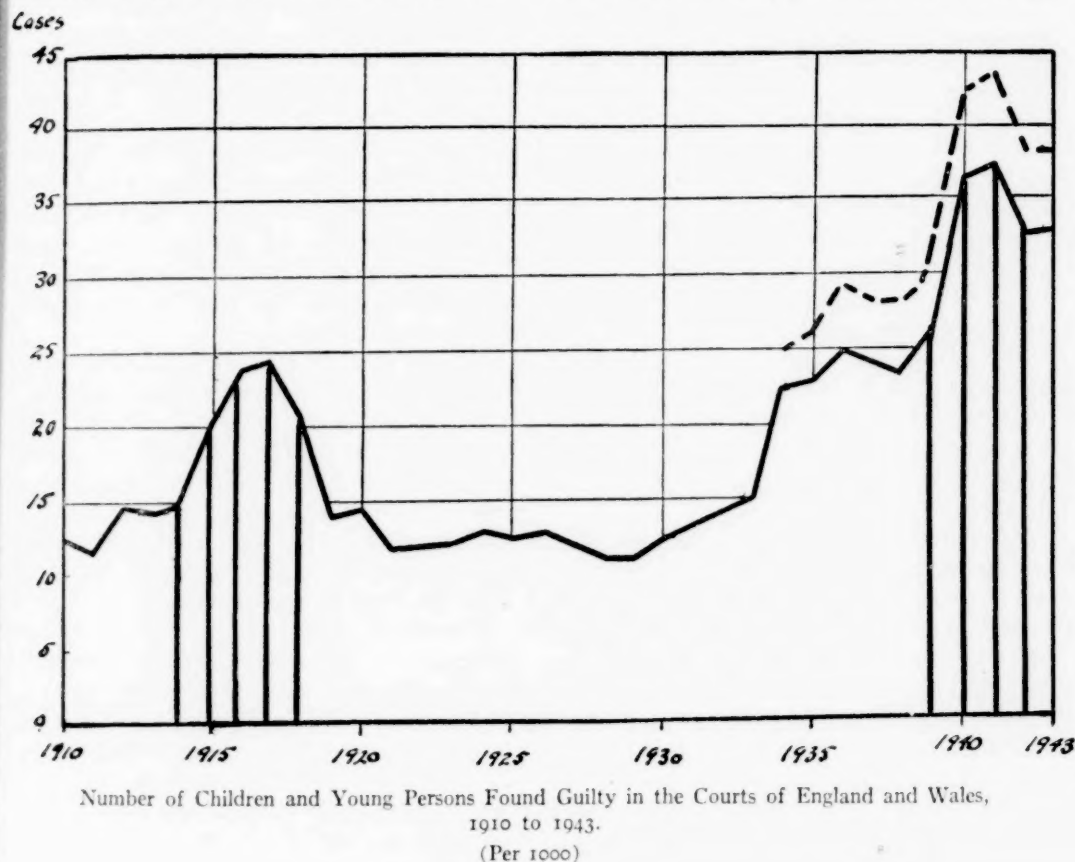
³ Because of reporting methods, information for Scotland cannot be included in this treatment. The writer is aware of the statistical problems involved in attempting to measure the amount of delinquency in a given area. The treatment here uses the court cases involving convictions for indictable offenses. These, of course, do not represent the total amount of delinquency for the period but they do represent a general picture of the fluctuations of the seriousness of delinquency. This is the conclusion of various persons charged with dealing with youthful offenders, as well as general observations. A complete survey of the total youthful offenses would involve a much larger work than is possible in this study.

⁴ Some authorities have maintained that there was no increase in youthful offenses until the first year of the war, 1939. See subsequent explanation of this situation.

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determine whether the country is a rural or an urban population. In general England has been an industrial urbanized society with most of the concomitant factors. Above this is the problem of the rate of transition from peace to war, for sudden and widespread transformation (from one to the other) brings serious social consequences.

does not go into some war industry, assumes new burdens that are difficult to carry. Where the mother engages in war work the problem of child control becomes more serious. "Absentee Parents," therefore, appeared in England as in other nations at War. Because of this the average city youth in such a family found the normal expres-



The present war, as many, came quickly involving not only the men under arms but the entire population. It is a Total War.

The social conditions influencing the amount of delinquency in England are not new or different but an accentuation and an aggravation of factors already present in peace time. Several factors may shatter the normal family relationships of a population but war speeds up the process faster than any other, save revolution. The father of the family enters the military and leaves home for a longer or shorter period. The mother, if she continues in the home and

sions of social life in extra-familial spheres where the intimate and personal relationships are missing. Many of the youthful offenders sought outlets in artificial and secondary social spheres. This condition often accompanied unfaithfulness on the part of one or both of the parents which in turn shattered the norms of conduct for the growing generation. Not a few delinquent offenders were born out of wedlock in the post war years. Each and all of these conditions tended to develop what some authorities have designated as a "Lost Generation."

Further, the War brought a demand for

many types of employment with a corresponding increase in wages. A young worker often made more money than his father in peace time pursuits. This "easy money," devoid of customary communal controls, created a "new freedom" and opened many "strange doors" to the young worker. The boy or girl not prepared to meet these situations often made unwise choices resulting in delinquent behavior. In addition, if the family did remain intact, young people often "left home" to work in "the south" or in "the north" away from the usual neighborhood relationships. This increased psychosocial isolation by breaking kin and place ties. Only strong and well integrated persons can withstand such conditions without serious results. These factors, combined with the "stranger in uniform in a strange city," complicated the social milieu. Sea ports and cities near large concentrations of troops have been aware of such problems. All of these factors had a direct effect on the behavior of youth during the war years and contributed to the increase of offenses in England.

War also has a long time or indirect effect on the amount of delinquency in a nation which involves a vortex of conditions surrounding those born during and shortly after the war. Wars usually decrease the marriages and distort the usual method of assortative mating.⁵ There are many "hasty marriages," second and third marriages where one or some member of a family fails to return, or other cases in which, if the partner returns, adjustment may not be possible. Divorces also increase in post-war years because of delayed actions and the maladjustments that follow the resumption of civilian life. Above each of these is the fact that the birth rate, which declined during the war, rose to a new high after 1919. Thus a more than

usual number of children were born into the disordered years of and after the war. This situation accounts for the large number of teen-age children in England in 1934 and the rise in the curve of court cases.

Economic conditions in post-war England contributed to the problem. There was a delay in conversion to peace time production with a corresponding large amount of unemployment. All of these economic disturbances culminated in the Great Strike in England. Conditions became so serious that the government instituted an investigation which brought forth the "Report on the Treatment of Young Persons in 1927." This in time created the "Children and Young Peoples Act of 1933" which made certain changes in the treatment of juveniles and advanced the age limit for the courts from 16 to 17 years.⁶

These conditions, familial disorders, economic and industrial stress, unemployment, a high birth-rate and an increased social mobility, created conditions inimical to normal integrated childhood. The result was an increase in youthful offenses when those children reached the age when delinquency most often occurs. Here then is one of the long-time effects of war on delinquency.

Conditions during World War I were attenuating but they were more serious and far reaching in 1940-42. The air-raids of 1940 and 1941, the evacuations, shifts of population, problems of rehousing, separation of families and other factors affected a much larger number of people than World War I. The war reached civilians as much as combatants, and during certain periods casualties were higher among civilians than in the army. The family relationships of previous years disappeared in the subways and underground shelters. The schools were closed and the children found themselves uprooted from familiar habitats. All of these conditions intensified the social conflict for the youth of England and made normal be-

⁵ Usually individuals of the same social position, age and background intermarry. Such war time songs as "They are Either too Young or too Old" reveal this situation. Mixed marriages, therefore, occur during and after wars because the usual marriageable persons have either been killed, injured or marry persons abroad. "War brides" are an evidence of the changed marital selection.

⁶ In the graph due consideration has been made for this change after 1933. The broken line shows the total cases which includes the cases coming under the new age group created by the law of 1933.

havior almost impossible.

Above these conditions the youth of England were subjected to the same distortion of ethical values as the adult population. Conduct and ethical norms soon became "relative." There was an unconscious lowering of standards and a tendency to live "just for the day."⁷ This general relaxing of conduct norms created anti-social behavior

⁷From this it should not be assumed that there were no positive and beneficent ideals present in these years. Many persons forgot their personal problems and selfishness and gave themselves to the greater cause of devotion to the nation and a broad

among the youth of the nation and a corresponding increase in the number of delinquent acts in the teen-age groups.

Summary. War, directly and indirectly, tends to create conditions which cause an increase in juvenile delinquency within a nation. This is shown by the large number of court cases in England and Wales during the War years. Cases increased rapidly in 1934 as a result of the long time influence of World War I.

humanitarianism. Disaster often lifts people out of their customary self-centered life.

A TEST FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

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PSYCHOLOGISTS, through their study of autistic thinking, and sociologists, in their studies in the sociology of knowledge, have been concerned with the limitations placed upon intelligence by biological needs and social conditions. While the psychologist has been quick to apply the methods of the laboratory in his research,¹ the sociologist has endured less precise techniques. It will be our purpose here to suggest one method by which greater precision may be lent the study of the sociology of knowledge.

The essential hypothesis of any *Wissenssoziologie* states that our knowledge of social and political² events is determined by "our mode of existence" or by our class- (occupationally-) determined *Weltanschauung*. Karl Mannheim states, for example, that:

... every form of historical and political thought is essentially conditioned by the life situation of the thinker and his groups. ... how one looks at history and how one construes a

total situation from given facts, depends on the position one occupies within society.³

Many sociologists seem to have accepted this hypothesis and are applying it, often uncritically, in their sociological analyses. In strictly *a priori* fashion certain writers have lent prestige to their *post factum* deductions by referring to "principles" or "techniques" of the sociology of knowledge. For example, Cahnman⁴ in discussing the Moslem principle of the millet writes, "The techniques of the sociology of knowledge will easily unveil this ideology." But the crucial point is do we have any valid techniques in this discipline? Is any attempt, however poor, to relate thought forms to social conditions, *ipso facto*, a study in the sociology of knowledge?

The heuristic monographs of the past two years by Mills,⁵ Bloch,⁶ Burnham,⁷ and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁴ Werner J. Cahnman, "Religion and Nationality," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1944, 49:525.

⁵ C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1943, 49:165-180.

⁶ Herbert A. Bloch, "Towards the Development of a Sociology of Literary and Art-Forms," *American Sociological Review*, 1943, 8:313-320.

⁷ James Burnham, *The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom*, 1943.

¹ Cf. Muzafer Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms*; and the work of Gardner Murphy and associates.

² "Political conduct ... is concerned with the state and society in so far as they are still in the process of becoming." Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, p. 100.

Fontaine⁸ are examples of the provocative but not altogether convincing application of such "techniques" in different fields. The weakness shared in varying degrees by these efforts is one of method: all rely upon assumptions of the reasonable fitness of the ideology under inspection with the social structure, or some segment thereof, to establish their cases, and one frequently wonders whether the descriptive correspondence between the two variables signifies the functional dependence hypothesized by the sociology of knowledge. There is no way of knowing the extent to which the ideologies or, as in Bloch's case, the art and literary forms, under consideration are actually conditioned by the social factors delineated by the respective authors. The dangers of such imputation are made clear in Reuter's incisive rejoinder⁹ to Fontaine's paper as well as in the writer's review of Burnham.¹⁰

How, then, can the problem of method be handled? Armbruster¹¹ has employed the analysis of discussion as a "limited method," but this technique still lacks that control of observer bias necessary if *Wissenssoziologie* is to be more than an art; it leaves too much to the interpreter's intention.

Max Weber's ideal-typical technique as developed in his sociology of religion¹² is one fruitful method in answer to this problem. Through his cosmic comparisons Weber was able to assay the significance of one cultural variable upon others. But, aside from the prodigious scholarship required for this type of analysis, the precision of such assessments as Weber makes is debatable¹³ since the historical plagues, selection and in-

terpretation, are ever present.

A mode of attack on this problem largely neglected by students in the sociology of knowledge may be made through the use of questionnaire and opinion polling breakdowns. The technique used by Williams and Mosteller¹⁴ on Office of Public Opinion Research data is well suited to the sociologist of knowledge who is seeking a more precise measure of the interaction of "social position," variously defined, and opinion. This method sacrifices much of the grand philosophical sweep so characteristic of writings in *Wissenssoziologie* for more precise information as to the extent to which any kind of social position is congruent with a particular *Weltanschauung*.

Another method by which questionnaire material may be used as a test of the social determination of viewpoints will be outlined here in detail.

It has often been suggested that membership in certain occupations¹⁵ may provide different "social positions" for the interpretation of political events and, presumably, one's behavior toward these circumstances. This proposal deserves examination since it has implications for the position of the "expert" in matters political and the contention forwarded by Mannheim¹⁶ and others that a science of politics is now possible through the medium of an intelligentsia which, because of the peculiar nature of its education and its exposure to conflicting social climates of class-determined *Weltanschauungen*, becomes relatively "socially unattached."

In order to explore these possibilities 1500 persons with established reputations in each of 10 occupations were asked to predict¹⁷ how certain grand events, then in the

⁸ William T. Fontaine, "Social Determination' in the Writing of Negro Scholars," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1944, 49:302-313.

⁹ E. B. Reuter, rejoinder, *ibid.*, p. 315.

¹⁰ *American Sociological Review*, 1943, 8:606-607.

¹¹ Gordon H. Armbruster, "An Analysis of Ideologies in the Context of Discussion," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1944, 50:123-133.

¹² Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, 1920-21.

¹³ Cf., for example, P. A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 694-695, or Amintore Fanfani, *Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism*.

¹⁴ F. Williams and F. Mosteller, "Education and Economic Status as Determinants of Opinion," in Hadley Cantril, *Gauging Public Opinion*, Ch. 14.

¹⁵ For studies relating occupation to socio-economic status and supporting this possibility cf. H. H. Davidson, *Personality and Economic Background*, Ch. III and bibliography therein.

¹⁶ Karl Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁷ It is not intended to imply that these "predictions" are of the scientific variety. For purposes of this paper the terms "prediction," "prophecy," and "estimate" may be regarded as synonyms.

making, would turn out. The 10 occupational groups were:

1. Business executives
2. Journalists
3. Politicians
4. Natural scientists
5. Political scientists
6. Historians
7. Philosophers
8. Psychologists
9. Sociologists (including cultural anthropologists)
10. Economists

These groups were chosen because they are roughly comparable in such qualities as intelligence, economic status, and the non-manual nature of their work. They do differ, however, with respect to scholarly training.

Groups 1-4 were selected because they represent a variety of interests that may, according to hypothesis, be expected to determine their views of "political" events. Presumably they are not "socially unattached" and they should, then, predict autistically, from bias. Groups 5-10 are the social scientists any of which, in view of their training, might constitute such an intelligentsia as Mannheim suggests exists. These groups might be relatively interest-free.

The samples, 150 persons in each occupation, were drawn at random, every nth name being taken from the following sources:

For the business executives: *Who's Who in Commerce and Industry*, 1940-41.

For the journalists: *Editor & Publisher*, 1943. International Yearbook Number, Vol. 76, No. 5, Sec. 2.

For the politicians: *Congressional Directory*, 78th Congress, 1st Session, 1943. (96 Senators, 48 Governors, 6 Cabinet Members.)

For the natural scientists: *American Men of Science*, 1938.

For the social scientists:¹⁸ *The Directory of American Scholars*, 1942.

Questionnaires were mailed to those selected during the second week of January,

1944, and only those questionnaires were tabulated which were completed before the end of that month. The respondents were asked to answer the following 10 questions:

1. When will Germany surrender?
2. When will Japan surrender?
3. Will Japan attack the USSR before surrendering? Yes... No... If "yes," when?
4. Will the USSR allow us to use air and/or naval bases in Siberia? Yes... No... If "yes," when?
5. Will the USSR attack Japan? Yes... No... If "yes," when?
6. Who will be the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1944?
7. Who will be the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1944?
8. Who will be elected president of the U.S.A. in 1944?
9. Will there be a depression after this war? Yes... No... If "yes," how many years after the cessation of hostilities?
10. Will there be a World War III? Yes... No... If "yes," how many years after this one?

These questions were purposely phrased as they might be put in ordinary conversation. They are sufficiently "open-ended" to allow the respondent to qualify them in any way he saw fit. This "open-endedness" was augmented by the provision of space for as many as three estimates for any one question and a request that the predictor indicate after his answer the bases upon which he felt his prophecy to have been made. These provisions allowed some respondents to interpret their answers more fully for the tabulator. For example, a few individuals representing five of the occupational categories did not follow the lead of question 2, but replied that hostilities with Japan would cease with a negotiated peace rather than with "surrender." The only other terms questioned by more than one respondent were "depression" in question 9 and "World War III" in question 10. Some wanted to know how serious a "depression" had to be before it could be regarded as one, and others took the trouble of giving a definition in terms of which their answers were to be interpreted. One economist, for example, in

¹⁸ Since the full complement of psychologists was not obtained from this source, the 1943 yearbook of the American Psychological Association was used as a supplement.

explaining his "no" response to the ninth question argued that "Government planning will avoid a depression—defined as the 1929-32 variety—but there will not be continuous full employment." Several gave predictions of there being two depressions after the war, a minor one within one to three years to be followed by a later, more serious depression variously predicted as coming between six and fifteen years after the war.

The few complaints about the term "World War III" are not felt to have influenced the nature of the prophecies. One respondent, for example, felt that there might be a future large-scale war but that it might not be called "World War III"! Another argued that World War III might not ensue from conditions consequent upon the present war; it is impossible to say how this irrelevance influenced his estimate. A few whose responses to question 10 were tabulated as negative let it be known that they did not consider a World War III a possibility within the next 60 years.

In addition to the predictions themselves and a statement concerning the bases upon which the predictions were thought to be grounded, the questionnaire asked the subjects to indicate by a mark on a rating-line the degree of certainty, 0-100 per cent, they felt in making each of their estimates. Only the most certain of the three possible predictions on each question was used in making the tabulations to be discussed here.

Slightly more than 25 per cent of the 1500 questionnaires were returned with January postmarks and were tabulated. Unfortunately the returns were not distributed evenly among the 10 occupations, and the politicians, in particular, were poorly represented. (Cf. Table 1.)

This uneven distribution not only prevented the use of certain statistical tools, but also raised the question of the character of the respondents and their predictions as opposed to the nature of those in each sample who were not reached or who refused to respond. Although this factor places a limitation on the generalizing power of this study, as it does in any questionnaire research, it may be inferred on the basis of present in-

formation gained from studies of interview polls that refusals do not constitute an important source of bias.¹⁹

With these limitations and considerations in mind, the distributions of predictions among the different occupations were plotted

TABLE 1. QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED BY OCCUPATION

	No. Returned	Percentage of Occupational Group Sampled	Percentage of Total Returns
Business Executives	44	20.5	11.4
Journalists	25	16.8	6.5
Politicians	13*	8.7	3.4
Natural Scientists	47	31.5	12.2
Political Scientists	33	22.1	8.6
Historians	34	22.8	8.0
Philosophers	31	20.8	8.1
Psychologists	58	38.9	15.1
Sociologists	63	42.2	16.4
Economists	40	26.8	10.4
Total	388		

* Five governors, eight senators.

for the 10 questions. These distributions in themselves do not, of course, answer the question, "Do any of the 10 occupational groups which were canvassed provide a "social position" which makes for a unique view of the social events with which we are here concerned?" The answer to this question involves the application of some test to all the predictions for each question to determine whether the answers of any groups differ sufficiently from those of other groups as to have been unobtainable by chance alone. That is, we want to know if each of the occupational samples represents a distinct population with respect to these predictions or whether these groups give answers such as might be expected from a homogeneous population.

Chi-square was used as a test of the homogeneity of response in each table. A

¹⁹ John Harding, "Refusals as a Source of Bias," in Cantril, Hadley, *et al.*, *Gauging Public Opinion*. With respect to interview polls, Harding concludes that "... refusals do not greatly affect the extent to which the sample ... is a representative cross section of the population." p. 123.

χ^2 "significant" at the .01 level, that is, indicative of heterogeneity of response, was obtained for only one set of predictions, those for question 8, "Who will be elected president of the U.S.A. in 1944?" Although the pattern of predictions on this question gave a significantly high χ^2 when tabled by occupational categories, the determining factor here might well be political party membership rather than occupationally determined *Weltanschauung*. This suspicion was augmented by examination of the contributions to the frequency discordance made by the various occupational groups. Here it was

the frequency discordance was practically nil, seem to indicate a lesser detachment on the part of the business executives from the interests putatively involved in the election. If this explanation is valid, the pattern of predictions on the election question, and on this question only, is corroborative of the hypothesis of "social position" as determinant of knowledge.

On the other hand, the homogeneity of predictions among occupations for the other questions is not to be interpreted as disproof of this hypothesis of the sociology of knowledge. It can only be said that none of these

TABLE 2. PARTY MEMBERSHIP BY OCCUPATION

	Republican	Democratic	Independent None	Socialist	American Labor	Social Democratic
Business Executives ...30		8	6	0	0	0
Journalists 5		7	13	0	0	0
Political Scientists 5		8	0	0	0	0
Natural Scientists27		5	15	0	0	0
Political Scientists11		14	8	0	0	0
Historians 7		13	13	1	0	0
Philosophers 9		13	8	0	0	1
Psychologists12		40	2	3	1	0
Sociologists 5		18	24	15	0	1
Economists 5		14	20	1	0	0

round that the greatest contribution was made by the business executives. Therefore, another breakdown of the data was made by party membership rather than occupation and χ^2 computed. Here an even larger χ^2 was obtained than by the previous breakdown. Examination of the table revealed that the greatest contribution to the frequency discordance was made by the Republicans. If the relationship between occupational membership and party membership is checked, it is found that the business executives are predominantly Republican. In only one other group, natural scientists, are Republicans in the majority. (Cf. Table 2.)

The lack of consensus among prophecies on question 8, then, is to be attributed largely to the responses of the business executives whose estimates in this instance are apparently more of the nature of votes than predictions. The contrary estimates of the natural scientists, a majority of whom also are Republicans but whose contribution to

occupations, as sampled, constitutes a distinctive "social position" for the interpretation of such events as were involved in the questionnaire, question 8 excepted.

The self-ratings on certainty of prediction showed no significant differences among occupations for any of the questions.

While the 10 occupational categories have predicted as one population, with the exception noted above, it was thought that they might allege different reasons for their predictions. These reasons were tabled but, unfortunately, the small N's in many cells and the discrete nature of the data have prevented the application of any test of homogeneity such as was used for the predictions proper. Inspection of the tables, however, does not seem to indicate any occupational idiosyncrasies of note.

Limitation of space does not permit inclusion of the tables depicting the bases upon which the forecasts were allegedly made. Nor would such tables, if published,

capture the flavor of the responses. The respondents, highly educated persons, were not loathe to make their opinions known and frequently used all the space provided, margins, and the reverse side of the questionnaire for detailed explanation of the bases cited. While these expositions in themselves neither confirm nor negate the hypotheses under examination, the reasoning involved is of concern to students of thought and ideology and, hence, a few of these bases might, as space permits, be reported here.

An economist predicting a depression within two years after the war:

The country is weary of high taxes and governmental controls. The demand for "free enterprise" will be too great even for F.D.R. to resist. But without governmental controls and the bolstering of our economy by government spending, U. S. capitalism cannot avoid collapse and unemployment under the post-war conditions of high productivity.

A business executive on World War III:

History would indicate that mankind does not care to forego the self-indulgence of wars. (And with international interdependence as complete as it is, any war could quickly develop into a World War.)

First prediction (30-40 years) is based on assumption that the suffering has been so great and so universal and the anti-war feeling will be so widespread and deep and so thoroughly disseminated and exploited that it will take longer than usual to whip up war-spirit.

Second and third predictions (20-25 and 10-15 years) based on possibility that interdependence of nations has now increased to the point where there can be less isolationism than ever before and nations will be more likely than ever before to step on each other's toes.

Gradual absorption of small nations into large federations is inevitable. The U.S.A. has proven the advantages of concentric (sic) integration. Germany tried to do it with Europe and has not yet failed. Even if Germany is beaten in battle, Europe as a whole must consolidate or be taken over in pieces by other large political units. Russia has awakened and will set a vivid example. The U.S.A. will have a more difficult time retaining her leadership in world affairs. I think she will rise to the occasion. She will have to "protect" Canada, Central and South

America from outsiders if she wants to retain her own independence.

An economist predicting depression "third year after defeat of Germany, 1948, September":

Impossibility for capitalism to maintain full employment and balance in production and consumption. Capitalism can't distribute income in a balanced pattern. Politically impossible to maintain enough government control after war controls. It will take a post war depression to establish a dual public and private economy needed to maintain balance.

A sociologist predicting World War III within 15-25 years after the present war:

Attempts to continue 19th century capitalism—most probable result of American reaction to World War II and New Dealism—will lead to crises in distribution of markets and reaction to "Yankee Imperialism" in Latin America fomented by Europe. If Isolationism accompanies the "return to normalcy" World War III will result from the vacuum of our withdrawal as a balancing factor in the west, necessitating British adherence to Russia and leaving the continent ripe for another Hitler in the west. Only by clear recognition of the character of the revolution which power (steam, gasoline, electricity) has brought about, extremely radical solution of our internal and external relations—willingness to forget national sovereignty, myth of "natural rights"; extreme emphasis upon social research, uninhibited public education, alteration of the myth of "rugged individualism" to permit recognition of the common needs and desires of men as well as their idiosyncratic ones, resurgence of the social ideals preached by Christ, Confucious (sic), Lao-Tse, general overhauling of corporate law and structure, development of professionalized, ethical bureaucracy in both public and private corporate practice, and other changes not likely to occur, can we solve the problems that will arise with the industrialization of the areas now ripe for it, without resort to war. Unfortunately I see at present practically no evidence that the great forces in American life are ready to pursue such a program.

An economist predicting World War III within two years of the end of this war:

There is no real solution to the problems that created the war in sight. Europe is seeth-

ing with Revolution of the left wing variety. England and the U. S. fear that and will try to go back to the *status quo ante* which will lead Russia to extend her sphere of influence westward, perhaps supporting left wing governments as far as the Rhine. There are two wars going on today, one between nations, and the second the conflict between capitalism and socialism within nations. This conflict will not be resolved by setting up new Fascist governments with new labels which we will try to do. Europe will be too unstable to settle down to peace until the social and economic revolution is completed.

A philosopher refused to make an estimate for question 10 because, "It seems . . . immoral to guess at this, as it would be to bet on the year when my mother will die."

In summary, the technique for the more

accurate study of the sociology of knowledge which has been presented here is one which may be applied on a larger scale through analysis of public opinion data. In terms of this study and that reported by Williams and Mosteller,²⁰ it may be hypothesized that there is no simple social position that conditions all knowledge. The relationship between social position and knowledge appears to be a function of at least three factors: (1) the criterion of social position used, (2) the type of knowledge measured, and (3) the time at which the relationship is measured.²¹

²⁰ F. Williams, and F. Mosteller, *op. cit.*

²¹ For example, Williams and Mosteller, *ibid.*, found that the importance of either education or economic status as conditioner of opinions on world events varied with changes in those events in time.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS WITH FELLOW EMPLOYEE IN WAR INDUSTRY AS A FACTOR IN DISRUPTION OF FAMILY LIFE*

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I. ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF STUDY

IN FALL 1943, it was observed that a certain number of complaints and petitions had recently been filed with the Domestic Relations Division of the Municipal Court¹ revealing friction in family life due to the fact that the husband or wife was employed in one of the war industries and had begun to associate with a fellow employee of the other sex.

The interviewers of the Domestic Rela-

tions Division were instructed to earmark those cases for special study.² All cases were included in which the spouse who was working in a war industry associated with another woman (or man, respectively)³ whom he (she) had met at the place of employment; be it that he (she) was working in the same room as the other woman (man), or if working in different parts of the same factory, that he (she) had met her (him) through shop meetings, entertainment sponsored by the management or union, sharing the ride to work in an automobile, or in any other way connected with the common place of employment.

All new cases were included, i.e. those

*The study was suggested by Dr. D. J. McCarthy, Director of Probation and Director of Medical and Sociological Research, and approved by Hon. Charles L. Brown, President Judge, Municipal Court of Philadelphia.

¹The jurisdiction of the Domestic Relations Division, *inter alia*, comprises cases of desertion or non-support of wives, children, grandchildren, parents and grandparents; and the custody of children. Its probation department arranges interviews and informal conferences with husbands and wives to encourage adjustment of marital difficulties without court action.

²Credit is due to Mrs. Florence M. Shughrue, supervising interviewer, and her staff of interviewers for their valuable help and co-operation in earmarking the case records.

³The terms "other man" and "other woman" (abbreviated OM and OW) are officially used in the records of the Domestic Relations Division.

cases which came to the interviewers' desk as *new* complaints. Complaints were considered as new even though the Domestic Relations Division might have had previous dealings with the family which were terminated by either court decision or closing of the case by the interviewer or probation officer.

The time covered was from October 15, 1943, through August 31, 1944, a period of ten and one-half months, the decisive date being the day of the first interview after the complaint was made.

One hundred cases⁴ were thus indicated by the interviewers as belonging in this category. They form the object of this study.

II. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The records of the 100 cases were excerpted in order to gather data on age and color (or race) of husband and wife, the number of children, the length of married life, the reason of the complaint, the basis of the domestic friction, and the present status of the case.

Time of reading and excerpting of records was from September 1 through September 15, 1944.

The statistical analysis of these data follows:

A. *Source of Complaint.* In 89 cases the complaint or petition was filed by the wife.⁵ In 80 of these 89 cases, the husband was accused by the wife of associating with another woman, while in 9 cases it was the wife

who was accused of associating with another man although she herself filed the complaint or petition. In these 9 cases the accusation by the husband against the wife had created domestic friction, amounting in some cases to separation, and particularly, refusal by the husband to support the wife; the wife, therefore, came to the Court either merely to discuss her marital difficulties or in order to secure a support order against her husband whose accusations she denied.

In 9 cases the complaint or petition was filed by the husband. In 7 out of these 9 cases the wife was accused of associating with another man, while in 2 cases the accusation by the wife against the husband had created domestic friction causing the husband to come to the Court for discussion of his marital difficulties.

In 2 cases husband and wife appeared at the Court together as complainants in order to discuss their marital difficulties. In one of these cases it was the husband who was accused by the wife of association with another woman, in the other case it was the wife who was accused by the husband of associating with another man.

B. *Age of Husband and Wife.* No wife was below 18, no husband below 20. No spouse was above 57 years of age. Only 7 husbands and 5 wives were above 44 years of age. Thirty-five per cent of the husbands were under 30 years of age. Fifty-three per cent of the wives were under 30 years of age. Comparing this with the only available control group which comprises all desertion and non-support cases which were handled by the Domestic Relations Division during 1943,⁶

⁴It does not necessarily follow that only 100 new cases of this type were reported to the Domestic Relations Division during that period. There probably exists a considerable number of cases which would belong in this category but which cannot be recognized as such because the complainant either does not know or neglects to mention the place where his (her) spouse has met the other man (woman). The total number of cases of desertion and non-support handled by the Domestic Relations Division during that period was 3,032.

⁵As a rule, a case of this type is started by a complaint. The Court interviewer seeks to adjust the complaint through conferences. A petition is filed only if formal court action is required, for instance, for placing a support order on the husband. Also see under "H" and "I," below.

⁶The control group comprises all desertion and non-support cases which were handled by the Domestic Relations Division of the Municipal Court for 1943. This control group of 3,539 cases was selected because statistical data as to age of husband and wife, length of marriages, number of children, etc., are available for this group in the *30th Annual Report of the Municipal Court for 1943* (see pp. 145-180). The 100 cases under study which were brought to the attention of the Court during the ten-and-one-half month period from October 15, 1943 through August 31, 1944 (see I), are included in the control group insofar as they occurred prior to January 1, 1944. It should be borne in mind that the control group is composed

we find that in the control group there were 58 per cent of the husbands under 30 years of age and 54 per cent of the wives were under 30 years of age. Thus, there is hardly any difference with respect to the wives, but there is a considerable difference with respect to the husbands.⁷ The percentage of husbands over 30 years of age in the group under study is by far higher than in the control group.

Comparing the difference of ages between the spouses in individual cases, we find that in 25 cases the husband was younger than the wife. The age differences in these cases⁸ was one year in 10 cases, two years in 4 cases, three years in 4 cases, four years in 1 case, and between five and eighteen years in the remainder of 6 cases. The fact that in 25 per cent of the cases the husband was younger than the wife is startling in comparison with the above-mentioned control group. Out of the total of 3381 cases of the same age groups (namely 18 to 59) in the control group 290 (or 8.6 per cent) indicated a higher age for the wife than for the husband.⁹

In all 17 cases in which the wife was accused by the husband of associating with another man (see above under "A") the husband was older than the wife; in 9 of these cases the age difference was 7 years or more; in 4 of them a disproportionately high discrepancy of age could be found, the husband being 9, 11, 15, and 17 years, respectively, older than the wife. The average age difference in these cases was six years and six months, as compared with the average age

of all types of cases of desertion and non-support and that association of husband or wife with OW or OM is cited in only a fraction of these cases as basis of domestic friction.

⁷The fact that many husbands of the younger age groups were drafted into the Armed Forces cannot be cited as an explanation for the preponderance of men over 30 years of age in the group under study; this fact has an equal influence on the group under study and the control group.

⁸Cases where the husband was less than one year younger than the wife are not included here.

⁹See Annual Report of the Municipal Court, 1943, p. 168-9.

difference between husband and wife in the United States according to Census figures, which is about 3 years,¹⁰ the husband being the senior.

Details as to age distribution are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN FIVE YEAR SPANS

Age	Number of Husbands	Number of Wives
Below 20	—	2
20-24	11	13
25-29	24	38
30-34	31	24
35-39	13	13
40-44	14	5
45-49	2	2
50-54	3	2
55-59	2	1
Above 59	—	—
Total	100	100

C. *Length of Married Life.* The date of marriage was known in 99 out of 100 cases. The length of married life on the date when the complaint was filed was recorded as follows:

TABLE 2. LENGTH OF MARRIED LIFE

Number of Years of Marriage	Number of Couples
Less than one year	2
Between 1 and 2 years	6
Between 2 and 3 years	6
Between 3 and 4 years	9
Between 4 and 5 years	5
Between 5 and 6 years	6
Between 6 and 7 years	2
Between 7 and 8 years	8
Between 8 and 9 years	6
Between 9 and 10 years	13
Between 10 and 11 years	7
Between 11 and 12 years	5
Between 12 and 13 years	3
Between 13 and 14 years	6
Between 14 and 15 years	3
Between 15 and 19 years	8
Between 20 and 24 years	3
Between 25 and 29 years	—
Between 30 and 39 years	1
Not reported	1
Total	100

¹⁰See Ray E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1939, p. 170; and Joseph Kirk Folsom, *The Family*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1934 (1938) p. 8.

Again we compare with the above-mentioned control group.¹¹ Only two couples in the group under study were married less than one year. In 7.7 per cent of the control group cases the marriage was less than one year old. Thirty-nine per cent of the couples in the group under study were married less than six years. In 46 per cent of the control group cases the marriage was less than 6 years old. Thirty-nine per cent of the couples in the group under study were married between 7 and 12 years. In 21 per cent of the control group cases, the marriage had lasted between 7 and 12 years. Fifty-six per cent of the couples in the group under study were married 8 years and over. In 41 per cent of the control group cases, the marriage lasted 8 years and more. The highest mark in the group under study was in the tenth year of marriage, in the control group it was in the third year of married life.

In other words, marriages of longer duration were much more frequently represented in the group under study than in the control group.

D. *Color or Race.* In 82 cases, husband and wife were white. In 18 cases, husband and wife were Negro, as compared with 36 per cent which Negro families furnished to the total of desertion and non-support cases handled by the Domestic Relations Division of the Municipal Court in 1943.¹² Thus, the percentage of Negro couples within the group under study is exactly half of the percentage of Negro couples in the control group. The reason for this may be found in the fact that a number of places of employment were only recently opened to Negroes and some are still barred to them.¹³

E. *Number of Children.* Table 3 shows the number of children of the 100 couples. Children of only the husband or the wife from previous marriages and children born

out of wedlock by the wives to other men are not counted even if they live in the home of the couple. Twenty-three per cent of the couples in the group under study did not have any children, as compared with 27 per cent of the control group.¹⁴ Twenty-eight per cent of the couples in the group under study had one child as compared with 31 per cent of the control group. Thirty-one per cent of the group under study had two children, as compared with only 21 per cent of the control group.

This large representation of couples with 2 children in the group under study may be explained by the fact that in this group marriages of longer duration were much more frequently represented than in the control group (see above under "C").

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF THE 100 COUPLES

<i>Number of Children</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>
None	23
One	28
Two	31
Three	9
Four	6
More than four	3

F. *Immediate Reason for Domestic Friction.* In 54 out of 100 cases the husband's desertion of wife (and, eventually, child or children) was given as the immediate reason for domestic friction; four of these desertions, however, were termed as being only "temporary." In some of these cases, the husband left his wife (and child or children) to live with the other woman; or he went to live with relatives, friends or elsewhere; or his whereabouts was not known. It should be borne in mind that information beyond the mere fact of the husband's leaving his wife (and child or children) cannot always be considered as reliable since it was frequently gained from the wife only. In a number of cases, the record does not contain any statement by the husband who failed to respond to a letter by the Court interviewer to call for an interview, either because he so chose or because he could not be located,

¹¹ See *Annual Report of the Municipal Court*, 1943, pp. 152, 167.

¹² See *Annual Report of the Municipal Court*, 1943, p. 152.

¹³ See *Industrial Employment Gains of Negro Workers of Philadelphia during the War Years, 1941-1944*, published by the Armstrong Association, Philadelphia, pp. 2, 9.

¹⁴ See *Annual Report of the Municipal Court*, 1943, p. 153.

and unless a petition is filed and the case heard by the judge who issues a bench warrant, the husband's appearance cannot be enforced. On the other hand, in a number of cases in which the husband called at the Court office for a personal interview or a conference with his wife, he denied his wife's accusations regarding his association with another woman and justified his desertion with accusations against his wife, as, for instance, poor housekeeping, carelessness in her appearance, nagging, drinking, interferences by in-laws, etc. From the point of view of this study, it is irrelevant whether the alleged extra-marital relations actually existed or not, and if so to what a degree; the criterion, here, is the existence of domestic friction which was primarily based either upon admission of extra-marital relations or only upon suspicion. It is also irrelevant for the purpose of this study that in some cases other additional reasons for the domestic friction were cited by the complainant.

In 6 cases the wife deserted her husband "for cause" on account of the husband's association with another woman which in 3 cases was admitted by the husband. In the remaining 40 cases, husband and wife continued to live in the same home, though frequently not "as husband and wife," and in a number of cases without the husband's contribution to the support of the family. In 3 out of 9 cases in which the husband filed the complaint or petition (see above under "A") the husband expressed the wish that the wife should stop working. In 5 out of the 9 cases the husband complained of the children being neglected by the wife whom he accused of associating with another man; there were 6, 3, 3, 2, and 1 children, respectively, in these families.

G. Place of Employment. In 99 out of the 100 cases, the place of employment where the husband met the other woman or the wife met the other man, was indicated in the record. Not all these places can be classified as war industries in the stricter sense of the word. However, in World War II, practically every industrial and commercial enterprise is related to our total war effort; also,

the fact that women are employed in great numbers in industry, transportation, and stores is directly attributable to the manpower shortage caused by the War. All these places of employment were, therefore, included.

There were 49 firms, out of which 16 accounted for more than one case; namely, two accounted for 10 cases each, one for 9 cases, one for 8 cases, one for 5 cases, one for 4 cases, and ten for 2 cases each. The remainder of 33 firms accounted for one case each. In 10 cases, husband and wife worked at the same plant.

H. Object of Complaint or Petition. In 65 cases the wife came to the Court with the intention of securing a support order against her husband for herself (and child or children). In 2 cases custody of children was sought by the husband (a merchant seaman and a private in the U. S. Army) who accused their wives of associating with another man and neglecting their children. In one case petitions for a writ of habeas corpus regarding their two children were filed by husband as well as wife. In 32 cases, husband or wife came to the Court only in order to discuss their marital difficulties which were based on the alleged or admitted association of the spouse with another man or another woman.

I. Disposition of the Cases. Forty-one cases were disposed of through formal court hearing. In 29 of these cases, an order was placed on the husband for the support of his wife and/or child (children), which in 2 cases was later vacated as the spouses became reconciled. In 4 cases, the petition was withdrawn. In 4 cases the case was continued for further disposition. In one case the petition for a writ of habeas corpus was dismissed. In 3 cases a bench warrant was issued against the husband which at the time of the study had not been served.

Fifty-nine cases were disposed of without formal court hearing. In 12 of these cases, an adjustment was achieved in a conference of the interviewer with husband and wife; this adjustment could be termed "reconciliation" in 9 cases, while in 3 cases some agreement was reached by the separated couples as to the amount of support or the visiting

of children. In 27 cases no further action by the Court was taken upon request of the complainant; in several of these cases the wife asked not to take any further action since the induction of the husband into the Armed Forces was imminent. In 19 cases, no further action was taken for other reasons; for instance, the husband could not be located and the wife did not call for another interview, or divorce proceedings had been started, or it was assumed that husband and wife became reconciled on their own accord since no communication was received from either spouse as to further action, or there was some other sufficient reason for closing the case without formal court hearing. One case was pending at the time of study awaiting court disposition on a petition for a support order.

III. CONCLUSIONS

(1) The analysis of these 100 cases represents an attempt of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia to utilize material hidden in records of actual court cases for sociological study purposes.

(2) The individual case histories of these 100 cases in respect to source of complaint, reason for domestic friction, court procedure and disposition, do not vary very much from the picture of other cases of desertion and non-support brought before the Domestic Relations Division of the Municipal Court and, without doubt, of any Court in the country. In other words, the intrinsic forms of behavior as manifested by extra-marital relations of a number of husbands and wives¹⁵ are constant; only the locale has changed or, more correctly, a new locale or medium has been added. The informal way of meeting fellow employees,¹⁶ particularly

in places where woman labor had not been employed prior to the war emergency, presents a new opportunity for a husband or wife who is prone to seek or succumb to extra-marital relations.

(3) Without pretending that far-reaching sociological conclusions can be drawn from a study covering only 100 cases and a ten-and-one-half month period, it seems significant that the analysis of age distribution, length of married life, and number of children warrants the following summary:

- (a) The percentage of cases in the group under study in which the husband is younger than the wife is almost three times as high as in the control group;
- (b) The percentage of cases in the group under study in which the husband is over 30 years of age is considerably higher than in the control group;
- (c) Marriages of longer duration, particularly exceeding eight years, are much more frequently represented in the group under study than in the control group;
- (d) Consequently, the percentage of marriages with 2 children in the family is considerably larger in the group under study than in the control group;
- (e) In those cases in which the wife has been accused of associating with another man, the average of the husband's seniority in the group under study is more than double the average in the general population.

It, therefore, seems that in the particular setting of the group under study longer married life and more advanced age of the husbands tend to produce a greater readiness for extra-marital relations. Also, unusual age differences between spouses, such as the wife being older than the husband, or the husband's years of seniority being above average, are an obvious psychological factor conducive to the conditioning of the younger spouse for extra-marital relations.

¹⁵ According to G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage*, Boni, New York 1929, covering a study of 100 families, 8 out of 100 men and 18 out of 100 women admitted illicit sex intercourse with person other than spouse but only after marriage; 20 out of 100 men and 6 out of 100 women admitted illicit sex intercourse with person other than spouse both before and after marriage (p. 350).

¹⁶ See Ernest R. Mowrer, "War and Family

Solidarity and Stability," in *The Annals*, September, 1943, p. 101.

DELINQUENCY TREATMENT IN THE CONTROLLED ACTIVITY GROUP*

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A FUNDAMENTAL problem of social control in a complex society is the maintenance of social ties to those personalities who breach the conventions. In simpler societies the great strength of primary relationships serves to prevent serious breach, or where serious breach has occurred, of drastic severance of social ties. But in industrial societies, breach of convention as defined especially in the criminal law leads to the application of sanctions which weaken the ties to family, kin and community. By a widening of social distance accomplished by the withdrawal of social contact and sympathy the recidivist offender is as effectively separated from his society as though he were physically exiled. Repeated application of punishment extends the separation into a cleavage from which finally emerges a segregate culture-group, the criminal underworld, equipped with its variant philosophy and culture values, its occupational techniques, and its social roles. Paradoxically, it is only through success in this half-world that the criminal personality can achieve a role in organized crime or in crime-politics. The control of organized crime, criminal syndicates and racketeering, then, involves the elimination of the social process which creates the backbone of organized crime—the criminal personality. This paper proposes to deal with the genetic aspect of this problem, namely the process of differential association.

The earliest genetic phases of the segregation process in the history of the individual delinquent have been described by psychiatrists and sociologists. They have emphasized severally the motivations and the social processes involved. William Healy, studying the motivations of youthful delinquents as

compared to their non-delinquent sibs, concluded that delinquent behavior is compensatory for subjective feelings of rejection, frustration, rivalry and consequent hostility in family relationships. These attitudes, says Healy, operate selectively in the differential selection of friendships outside of home and school classroom and leads to differential association with other similarly maladjusted personalities. Criminologists and other sociologists, including Sutherland, Shaw and Thrasher, have described the group aspects of this differential association, particularly in the culture setting of the urban interstitial area. Thrasher has described the operation of hostility as a motivation of gang behavior toward conventional society.

Successful social treatment of those aspects of crime and delinquency which are the product of hostility in family relationships and differential association involves the reversal of the whole process of social segregation, the removal of familial bases for personality maladjustments, the removal of possibilities of differential association and maturation in delinquency patterns, the elimination of social forms of punishment that produce social cleavage and a criminal society marginal to the larger society.

This is indeed a challenging formula. There are some who deny the power of contemporary social organization to so set its house in order as to deal in a fundamental way with these requirements. Others, however, viewing the problem in its methodological aspect, have courageously attempted to do a piece-meal job, to develop specific methods for the treatment of defective social relationships among individual social deviates. Through the indefatigable efforts of Healy and his followers, and through the effect upon social case work of the mental hygiene movement, there has been since 1915 an increasingly widespread clinical movement to

* Modification of paper given before Eastern Sociological Society, New York, April, 1944.

remove the familial bases for personality maladjustment in individual instances. Within the compass of this brief paper, it is not possible to discuss the potentialities nor limitations of this case approach. It may suffice to point out that its value for therapy lies in a relationship between therapist and patient, based on voluntary acceptance, accompanied by anxiety, and perhaps guilt feeling; a psychological basis for which is to be found in subjective culture conflict, and a sociological basis in cultural marginality to the mores. Where, however, differential association has progressed to the point of maturation of a delinquent personality and the selection of delinquent attitudes, anxieties have been repressed, guilt feeling has been rationalized, and the feeling of subjective inadequacy has been dissipated in the presence of a nonconforming group approval. The limitation of voluntary individual case work with the matured delinquent personality, and the still greater limitations of the use of authority in individual case work has led other workers to seek a rationale of treatment of differential delinquent association through the methods of group work.

The earlier approaches of group work as delinquency preventives were innocent either of clinical or sociological analysis. Mass recreation served to keep children occupied on the principle that while so engaged they could not be engaged in delinquent pursuits. Furthermore, athletic competition was vaguely regarded as formative of "character"; i.e., of learning to play in a competitive society within a regulative system. Advocates of mass recreation ignored the disturbing fact that delinquents usually either avoided supervised recreation, or turned athletic competition into an arena for gang tactics. The need for greater and more individualized control over the delinquency treatment process led to the use of the supervised social club as a therapeutic tool. Group case work undertook to introduce maladjusted and delinquent children into settlement house and community center social clubs for a combined group work and case work treatment program. Social group work attempted to individualize group work to the needs of individual children as demon-

strated by their behavior within the social group.

These efforts have not been markedly successful owing to the primary group characteristics of social clubs. Formed usually in the home block or neighborhood on the basis of enduring friendship association over a period of years, and composed of dyads and cliques, such groups are resistant to the introduction of strangers, particularly when these display evidences of personality inadequacy or lack of trustworthiness. The attempts of social workers and of probation and parole officers to introduce maladjusted and delinquent children into supervised social clubs has met only relative success and much social resistance, abetted in smaller communities and in middle-class groups by the fears of parents, group leaders and even some of the ministerial group of the effects of contamination of "normal" by "problem" children. Attempts to incorporate entire delinquent gangs as clubs within the framework of supervised recreation has been uneven in its outcomes, sometimes leading to new motivation and personality modification through attachment to a gifted adult leader, but as often leading to withdrawal of the group when faced by adult censure for the continuation of delinquent practices. The indifferent success of group work, like that of case work, in preventing differential delinquent association has led to more positive attempts to provide constructive, non-segregate, social experience for social deviates.

The development of projection methods of group therapy, in hospitals and child guidance centers, for the diagnosis and catharsis of deep neuroses, has been a valuable and helpful approach. In particular, the form of organization of these groups as interest groups, has at a stroke solved the problems of membership, leadership and program content which in the social club, with its formalized structure, official hierarchy, conditions of admission, conduct requirements and penalties, and limited control over program content by the adult leader, stood in the way of its utilization as a therapeutic instrument even if the problem of membership admission had been successfully overcome. These loosely structured

therapeutic groups, consisting of trained adult leaders and neurotic children admitted individually, combined the characteristics of admission of an educational group with the informality and democratic interaction pattern of a friendship group. It provided the adult control of the therapeutic situation combined with the freedom for exploratory experience and dynamic social relationships essential to treatment.

This total pattern, however, was not applicable to group work as treatment of the wider range of conduct problems and juvenile delinquencies. Precisely because it was a segregated group, operating frankly for therapeutic purposes, it was not applicable to that large group of children who, while delinquent, were not socially isolated and hence in no felt need of group membership other than their own. There remained still a gap in our social structure—the absence in our society of a type of social group that would be *non-segregative and yet therapeutic*. These considerations led to the Group Guidance experiment, conducted by the writer and his associates under the auspices of the Social Research Laboratory in the Department of Sociology of the City College of New York.

The Group Guidance experiment conducted a new form of social group, the *controlled activity* group, set up within the structure of voluntary community recreation for normal children. Within the controlled activity group, problem and normal children mingled naturally in recreational activities. The criteria for the establishment of these treatment groups were laid down as follows: (1) That they be undifferentiated in apparent structure and program content from any other recreational groups; (2) that they not be stigmatized by designation as treatment programs; (3) that the membership be recruited voluntarily; (4) that they admit a large proportion of severely maladjusted and conduct problem children; (5) that the program content be especially suited to the social immaturities of problem children but be equally appealing to all children; (6) that the group structure provide both for educational and experimental controls without conveying to the membership an aware-

ness of the presence of either.

These criteria were achieved, in three controlled activity groups, two set up within the structure of public school community centers, and a third at the City College. Their chief characteristics may be summarized as follows: They operated a workshop and game-room program, including classes in creative art, woodwork, metal and leatherwork, meeting three sessions a week for two hours a session. To this program were invited the most seriously maladjusted pupils in four public elementary and junior high schools. Among them were chronic truants, incorrigibles, serious personality problems, and children charged with such serious offenses as arson and theft. Invited in equal numbers were normal children from the same schools. The invitation to both groups was in terms of recreation. Every possible step was taken to prevent stigma attaching to the groups as being therapeutic groups. No school publicity was given to them. Invitations were made personally to problem children and in small groups to the others. Only the school principals and administrative assistants shared in the knowledge of the objectives of the program. Teachers were not included, nor were the personnel of the after-school community centers. The identity of the problem children was revealed only to the Educational Director* of the experiment and his assistant. The group work leaders, sociology and education majors from the City College student body, were well aware of the program's therapeutic objectives, but were not told who were the problem and who were the normal children.¹ Admission to the groups was controlled by the Educational Director in accordance with experimental controls of the program.

The social structure of the groups was informal, consisting of children who worked at individual projects, student group leaders who also worked at their own projects and gave advice and instruction upon individual request or where individual problems were

* Henry Paley, formerly of the City and Country School.

¹ In most instances, they were unsuccessful in judging from the conduct of the children.

noted, and an Educational Director or his assistant, who was in general charge of the program. The latter distributed materials, checked the plans for projects with individual children, guided the educational process and dealt with behavior difficulties. Democratic and highly individualized relationships were maintained between children and student leaders, there being one student leader to every four children. No leader was designated to any special child, and children appealed for help to whomever they wished. Included as leaders were student participant-observers who also worked at projects and gave help only when it was solicited. These observers, during the sessions, kept careful records of the responses of individual children, unknown to and outside the presence of the children.

The training and instruction of the student group work leaders and participant-observers was carried on by means, first of institutes, and then of a weekly seminar for each group. The institute and seminar for group work leaders provided instruction in the use of materials, and instruction in the philosophy and pedagogy of group work as therapy. The seminar for participant-observers provided instruction in some elementary principles of social research, in the fundamentals of objective observation and recording, and in the specific observational and recording methods of the experiment. Group work leaders were selected initially as possessing prior group work skills and experiences.

Some discussion of our experiences with the program might be appropriate at this point. Our fundamental premise that a controlled activity program must not be stigmatized as therapeutic if a non-segregate relation to the community is to be maintained was well illustrated in our experience with a Bronx Junior High school located in a neighborhood which has since figured as a focal area of wartime juvenile delinquency and inter-racial conflict. Prior to the establishment of the actual experiment we devoted a preliminary semester in this school to testing out the methods of the study. At the end of this semester, using all the safeguards described, a group of 30 children

was in attendance. Delay in the financing of our study forced the temporary withdrawal from this school. During the following semester, unknown to us, a visiting teacher who was in the confidence of the principal attempted to duplicate our efforts with one difference—she publicized the program throughout the school. We re-entered the school just as she was about to initiate her own program, and upon receiving permission to substitute our program for her own, were puzzled at the restrained pupil response to our re-entry. Instead of the thirty enthusiastic members, a corporal's guard of three to five children appeared at sessions. These were met on staircases and in corridors by the jeering greetings of other pupils "Yah, you're going straight." Investigation disclosed that our program had been identified in the minds of the pupils with that proposed by the visiting teacher. We continued the program for some weeks, but irreparable damage had unwittingly been done, and we withdrew from the school.

We have often been asked what disciplinary restraints we used in view of the large proportion of severely maladjusted children in our groups, and the informality of our group process. Occasional disciplinary methods were used. Our student leaders were not always as therapeutic-minded in their responses as we should have liked. Despite their training they would occasionally react to great provocation by scolding a child or threatening to expel him from the group. In several instances, the Educational Director, himself a gifted leader in the field of experimental education, felt constrained to deny access to a child for the balance of a session, or for the ensuing session as punishment for especially violent behavior. In a single instance of a child with a psychopathic or pre-psychotic personality, whose presence in the group constituted a constant source of irritation and disorganization, the Educational Director sought unsuccessfully to exclude this child from the group. But despite rebuffs, the child continued to come and so was endured.

Ordinarily, our educational philosophy made unnecessary the resort to disciplinary procedures. It was based on the principle

that destructive social behavior is a signal of adjustive difficulty in a functional role. Where a child was idling, or wandering around, or playing destructively with materials, or teasing other children, our first concern was to discover the obstacles that had arisen in his work. Almost invariably obstacles would be discovered, such as inability to form a plan for a new project or to record it on paper, lack of confidence in his ability to initiate a new procedure or use a new tool, or fear that a mishap in workmanship had spoiled an article. These were situations, not for discipline, but for advice and instruction. We truly did more to sustain and carry our maladjusted children over difficulties than would have been considered desirable with normal children. Often the Educational Director, to whom the identity of the problem children was known, would himself make a beginning on a new project, or a new step in an already initiated project, or remedy what appeared to the child to be a ruined project. But he was careful always to have the major part of the project be the work of the child so it might afford him the pleasure of a sense of creative achievement. Great pride was displayed by many children in their productions and great anxiety in connection with their completion.

The therapeutic value of the program as we have analyzed it, lay in a group of factors the specific influence of each of which is difficult to assess. For some overprotected children with severe personality problems the experience constituted the first supervised recreational group their mothers had ever allowed them to attend. For some extremely hostile and delinquent children it was the only adult-supervised group in which they were tolerated.² For some Negro children who had been reared to fear and dislike whites, the sharing in good fellowship with both Negro and white student leaders was a constructive experience, as evidenced in case study material. For some children, approval by other children, parents and sibs for their

² The tolerance limit of the groups was probably higher than would be considered desirable in ordinary play groups. Yet in the long run, no harm ensued. No one was hurt, no accidents occurred,

productions was itself good therapy.³ The manipulation of materials was itself undoubtedly therapeutic. Certain planned workshop conditions were therapeutic, such as the provision of as much materials as was necessary (budgeted at \$5 per child per year) but the provision of tools in somewhat restricted quantity with the objective of requiring interchange of tools. This in turn, stimulated co-operative social contact. The freedom of movement may itself have been therapeutic. There were always at least four activities simultaneously in operation in different workshops or shop areas—including woodwork, art and clay work, metal and leatherwork, music, and quiet games. Children were free to shift from shop to shop, either dependent upon need (as in the case of projects involving several techniques) or as recreation. When techniques for stimulating concentrated effort failed, attendance in the game room was often suggested to children. Immature boys and those inexperienced with tools were encouraged to dabble with plasticene, water colors and finger-painting as expressive media.

The empirical effects of this program, conducted for three successive school semesters in three workshop centers for pupils from four public schools, has been measured. Two groups of cases were studied, an experimental and a control group, each subdivided into problems and non-problems. Both groups included boys, ages 10½-14½ years, in grades 4A-8A. The lower age limit was the minimum deemed suitable for this type of program. The upper age limit assured

no damage to tools, or to school property and equipment occurred. In fact, school custodians praised the program to principals as less injurious to school equipment than the remainder of the community center program.

³ Visits by the field case worker in homes where her relationship to the experiment was not disclosed, revealed many instances of parental pride in children's productions at the guidance center. The practical value of many productions cemented relationships to teachers and parents. A steady stream of broken chairs, waste paper baskets, lamps, benches and other small articles passed through the workshops for repair. Many products such as shelves, bread-boards, book-ends, etc., wound up in the parental kitchen or living-room as objects of practical use.

at least two semesters of school follow-up during treatment.

The problem cases were obtained from the trouble lists of school administrators and attendance officers supplemented by an individual canvass of teachers by our field worker for a confidential listing of their problem cases and a description of the conduct problems. The age range led to the inclusion of many mild adjustment cases and excluded many of the chronic older truants and officially adjudged court delinquents. The non-problem cases, defined as never having been reported by teachers or administrators as problems nor to ever have had less than a B in conduct on their report cards throughout their school histories, were obtained by serial selection from class roll-books. The definition excluded marginal cases and sought a clear-cut difference in school adjustment between the problem and normal groups. The procedure of selection of both groups might also have excluded children known as problems outside of school and adjusting in school. This procedure gave 155 problem cases, against whom were grouped 155 unselected non-problem cases. All children were from schools in underprivileged, low-rent areas. The whole sampling was heavily loaded with Negro children, two schools having been chosen from the Harlem Negro community, but the rest of the sampling gave good representation to the major population minorities in New York City—Germans, Irish, Italians, Jews, and Spanish.

Experimental and control cases were individually matched, problem against problem, non-problem against non-problem, for sex, race, age, tested general intelligence, educational achievement and mechanical aptitude. Race was accepted as the social definition given by the family. Age was the verified school record at admission. The remaining factors were tested in a standard group test procedure conducted by the research staff. The Otis Classification test was administered to measure general intelligence and educational achievement while the Stenquist paper-and-pencil test was administered to measure mechanical aptitude. The matching procedure eliminated 172 children who could not be matched at all, leaving 138 (later reduced

by residence removals to 130) who could be matched.⁴ Among all 130 cases, 74 were matched for all six traits, 38 for five traits, 16 for four traits, and 2 for only three traits. In non-matchings, only 8 cases involved as much as a two-quartile difference in any trait. The testing procedure revealed striking differences between the problem and non-problem groups, the latter being superior in all three functions tested, the differences being statistically significant as measured by the size of the critical ratio. The median non-problem IQ was 98, the median problem IQ was 83; the median non-problem educational quotient was 94 and the median problem quotient was 78; the median non-problem mechanical aptitude percentile rating was 31 and the median problem percentile rating was 17. Hence the problem group was strikingly maladjusted educationally as well as in conduct.

The measurement of the outcomes of this experiment has included numerous procedures. The study did not limit itself, as do most laboratory experiments, to the change in behavior in the experimental situation. For in the field of child guidance treatment, it is the transfer of learning to other social situations that is the crux of the outcome. Hence the measurement of behavior in the experimental situation itself was considered the least important measure, and a full-dimensional picture was sought of the behavior of the child in all its important group relationships. This included the school classroom, the family and the neighborhood play group. The methods of study included a standardized social case history, concealed participant observation in the laboratory, and the use of standardized rating scales for measuring behavior changes in the school classroom. Lack of facilities made it impossible to use all methods for all normal and problem groups, hence the study of outcomes for non-problem experimental cases has been limited to laboratory observations and comparison with control problems

⁴The size of the original group prevented completely satisfactory matching. Our experience suggests that the original group should have been at least three times the size of the selected matched group for perfect matching.

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in the classroom situation. Full case studies were made only upon experimental and control problem cases. For both groups, the study of changes necessarily involved the application of measures in such a way that behavior both before and after the experimental period could be reported.

The measurement of the behavior in the experimental situation necessarily includes a description of the extent of exposure to treatment. The program operated in three workshop centers, for an average of 69 two-hour sessions in each, or 138 treatment hours. One hundred and twenty children were invited to attend, 60 problem and 60 non-problem. Twenty-one problem and seven non-problem boys did not attend at all, while thirty-nine problem and fifty-three non-problem boys attended, their frequencies ranging from a single visit to 69 visits, the median being 22 periods or 44 hours for non-problems, and 20 periods and 40 hours for problems. Thus the initial response was better among the non-problems but for those that joined, no significant difference in attendance differentiated the two groups of children. The pulling power of the program, as an index of its practical applicability on a wider basis, is not accurately measured in this experiment since for experimental purposes, no replacement of dropouts or of non-responses to invitation could be made. Thirty-eight per cent of the problems remained in attendance for one semester, and thirty-one per cent for two semesters. In a practical treatment situation, replacements would markedly increase this percentage.

Problem and non-problem children showed hardly any significant differences in interests. Woodwork was the favored activity, fifty per cent of the time of both groups having been spent there; next came arts and crafts, twenty-five per cent; last was art, five per cent. Only in the use of the game room was there a small, consistent difference between the groups, favoring the non-problems (15%) as contrasted to the problems (11%). Ability to concentrate on an activity, as grossly measured by time spent among the different activities, did not differentiate the groups. Eighty-six per cent of the problems and 85 per cent of the non-problems

spent their time in a single activity shop. The findings therefore indicate no cleavage in interests between normals and problems and hence no cleavage in general social contacts in the experimental situation.

The behavior outcomes in the experimental workshops can be reported only in clinical terms, as a rating scale in process of construction for the measurement of behavior in a group situation is at this writing incomplete. Analysis of the observational records on 20 problem boys showed marked improvement in 8 cases, no noticeable change in 7, and deterioration in 5 cases. Strikingly different outcomes in the family and school classroom warrant the conclusion that behavior change in the experimental situation alone is for this type of experiment inconclusive. Thus, a marked trend toward aggressive behavior was noted in many cases and rated as indicative of behavior deterioration. In three cases, case study disclosed that this aggression took place in markedly dependent and maternally overprotected children, whose anxiety and dependency symptoms in the family setting diminished following aggressive responses in the experimental workshops.

Behavior in the school class-room among the experimental and control groups was measured following one semester of treatment of the experimental group, by ratings obtained before and after treatment, from class-room teachers, on the Haggerty-Wickman-Olson behavior rating scale. The small size of the original sample prevented a two-semester exposure study, owing to drop-outs. Ratings were obtained on 80 normal and 50 problem boys, divided equally into experimental and control groups. Among the problems, 48 per cent of the experimental cases, and 24 per cent of the controls improved, and while the average score grew worse (increased) for both groups, the increase reduced to index numbers was very slight for the experimental group (from 100 to 106) compared to the control group (from 100 to 126). The direction of differential change, although favorable to the experimental group, was not statistically significant. However, when the Haggerty scale was sub-divided into three groups of conduct

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disorder (items 1-5: disinterest, cheating, tardiness, lying, defiance; items 6-10: overactivity, unpopularity with children, temper outbursts, bullying, speech difficulties; items 11-15: imaginative lying, sex offenses, stealing, truancy, obscenity) denoting mild, median and severe conduct disorder as represented in score weightings, the experimentals *improved* in the last category, while the controls grew worse. Percentage scores for experimentals dropped from 24.8 to 18.6 per cent and increased from 24.8 to 33.3 per cent for the controls, a difference of 14.7 per cent, the significance of which was 9.13 S.D. For the median group of offenses, experimentals increased from 43.1 to 50.8 per cent, and the controls decreased from 40.4 to 38.9 per cent, a change of 11.9 per cent, with a significance of 7 S.D. The importance of these changes lies in their qualitative nature. The treated group *decreased* in the type of symptoms which characterize the matured delinquent personality (stealing, truancy, etc.), while the untreated group increased. But the treated group *increased* in symptoms indicative of emotional disturbance while the untreated group decreased slightly. These results, taken together with the increase in aggressiveness noted in the workshops, suggest that experience in the therapeutic groups was productive among problem children of emotional release, concomitant with reduction in overt delinquency patterns, and in dependent, overprotected personality problem cases, was productive of aggressiveness with concomitant reduction in anxiety symptoms. The statistical significance of the Haggerty rating differences suggests that these are true outcomes likely to repeat in similar experiments.⁵

Behavior in the family and play group

⁵ It is to be noted that the problem cases were not originally matched for degree of maladjustment, for the reason that prior to case study, it was deemed inadvisable to base adjustment on any single measure, such as the Haggerty. A suitable procedure might have been to institute case study, match for adjustment as well as all other factors, and then proceed with experimentation. Our study was not underwritten for the period necessary to carry out this procedure, hence we had to chance comparability of adjustments purely on the basis of sampling procedure. Retrospective analysis of

setting was studied by means of individual case study on all problem cases available for study (20 experimental, 18 control). A standardized case history, the Baker-Traphagan social history scale, was used, its value consisting in not only a systematic schedule for uniform data collection, but in a detailed manual for the scoring of its 66 items on a one-to-five point scale, with ideal adjustment rated 5 and worst possible adjustment rated 1. The use of this manual and scale combined with the history, made possible both a qualitative and quantitative measurement of the behavior status of both experimental and control groups before and after treatment. For this study 13 of the 66 Baker-Traphagan items were selected as a measure of behavior status and data were collected from the families as to the status of each child for each condition, at the outset and completion of the experiment.⁶

These items are: 29: anger, rage, revenge; 30: fear, dread, anxiety; 32: pity, sympathy, enthusiasm; 28: personality type; 27: social type; 35: initiative and ambition; 37: general behavior; 26: playmates and companions; 25: later recreational facilities; 34: interests or hobbies; 63: attitude toward home; 65: scholarship; 66: attitude toward school. The ratings show that the two groups

both the Haggerty and Baker-Traphagan scores disclose that the groups as a whole were closely similar in their adjustment before treatment. The mean Haggerty scores were Px, 55.7, S.D., 41.0, and Pc, 54; S.D., 38.2. The difference of the scores was not significant, statistically, being only .151 S.D. On the Baker-Traphagan, the initial median scores were: for experimentals, 37; controls, 30.5.

⁶ While the case history data were thus retrospective for the period prior to treatment, the elapsed period was relatively short, and this fact, combined with the technique used by the field worker, that of recalling behavior in relation to seasons, holidays, and other time land-marks, leads to the belief that the reports are substantially accurate, for the factor of memory. The motivation of the informants, usually the mother, to be objective, was facilitated by the auspices of the home inquiry. The investigator was identified as a friendly visitor from the school who represented the school's interest in the child's progress. Care was taken to in no instance indicate a critical school attitude toward the child. Objectivity in securing reports on the experimental group was protected by not identifying the field worker with the therapeutic workshops.

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were closely similar in adjustment prior to treatment, as measured by their median scores and score ranges. The earlier ratings gave an experimental median of 37 and a control median of 39.5, indicating the controls to be very slightly better adjusted. The experimental score range was 27-45 and the control score range was 29-49. The final medians after treatment, were 43.5 for the experimentals and 40.5 for the controls. Final score ranges were respectively, 33-55 and 24-50. Seventy-two per cent of the experimentals and only 33 per cent of the controls showed behavior gains, the experimental gains ranging from 2 to 17 points, with an average of 9.5 points, while the control gains ranged from 1 to 9 points, with an average of 3.5 points. Among the 28 per cent of the experimentals and the 66 per cent of the controls who showed retrogressive behavior, the losses were slight, averaging around 2 points for each group.

We may conclude this analysis of experimental findings by stating that the results were positive both in the school class-room and in the family setting for the treated group, that the treatment program appeared to release tensions and aggressions, to replace delinquent patterns by patterns of emotional instability, and to modify personality disorders. The control problem group by contrast, remained relatively static in school and in the family setting, some children improving slightly and the majority growing slightly worse in conduct.

Before assaying an interpretation of the findings, one question remains to be answered, namely whether the changes in the experimental group were actually the result of the treatment program or of concomitant beneficent variations in societal experience. The answer to this question has been sought in a study of the social backgrounds of both experimental and control problem groups, both before and after treatment. This study consisted of two parts, the first of which examined the social treatment given to the two groups, over and above that obtained in the experimental workshop. This study indicated that both groups received an equal amount of disciplinary handling in the school, that clinical examinations were given

in more experimental than control cases (4-1) but the advice disregarded in three cases, and that six times as many controls as experimentals were referred for official action by police, courts and attendance officials. On the whole, the controls had more disciplinary attention and this proved ineffective. Next, we considered the characteristics and trends of family background during the period of experimentation. The record of family backgrounds has been analyzed for three types of social pathology—family disorganization, defective social relationships, and improper discipline. The evidences of family disorganization, viewed *en masse*, are alike for both groups, the cumulative percentage totals for items of broken home, marital disharmony, public assistance, other economic maladjustments, chronic illness, mental disease and deficiency, unethical or anti-social example in the home or neighborhood, being 350 for the experimentals and 357 for the controls, a ratio of .98 to 1. The evidences of defective social relationships are likewise markedly similar, the cumulative percentages for defective parental relationships, defective relationships to problem child, other defective relations in the home, and defective community relations being 165 for the experimentals and 187 for the controls, a ratio of 1.13 to 1. The evidences of improper discipline are also similar, the cumulative percentages for severe discipline and lax discipline being 145 for experimentals and 137 for controls, a ratio of .9 to 1. Taken together, the evidence points to fairly equal and severe social pathology in both groups of cases, the cumulative percentages being 660 for experimentals and 682 for controls.

Finally, we have considered the trend of family pathology during the period of experimentation. Evidences of deterioration in family life were similar for both groups, the cumulative percentages for family social disorganization, defective social relationships, and defective discipline being 40 and 38.5. Evidences of improvement in family life were somewhat closely similar, cumulative percentages for the same categories being 40 for experimentals and 27.5 for controls, the ratio being .79 to 1. How much an improvement in family social relation-

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ships between problem child and parents is itself a cause or a product of behavior improvement is, however, unclear. Twice as many instances occurred in the experimental as in the control group and contributed largely to the percentage difference.

We may therefore summarize the analysis of the environmental influences upon the two groups as indicating very marked similarities in extent of social pathology and defective social relationships in family life, no significant differences in trend for these characteristics during the treatment period, and no important differences in the social treatment given outside the home, the controls receiving more disciplinary attention than the experimentals. These facts lead to the conclusion that no measureable influences in the social environments of the two groups account for the marked improvement of the majority of the experimental group and the continued and slightly

deteriorating misconduct of the majority of the control group of intensively studied cases. Conclusions: This experiment requires duplication on larger numbers before conclusive judgments can be formed as to the efficacy of the controlled activity group as a vehicle of sociological treatment for social deviates. The positive results, quantitative and qualitative, on this small sampling indicate that a short period of exposure to nonsegregate social relationships in the setting of a controlled activity group tends to reverse the direction of delinquent behavior and to release tensions through providing a free atmosphere for the working off of aggressions and the formation of social ties. The experiment further casts positive light upon the practicality of achieving transfer of adjustive reactions from an experimental situation to other life situations, such as the family and school class-room.

THE RECENT INCREASE OF PERSONS IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY AGES*

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SINCE the social security program was instituted in the United States, there has developed a strong tendency for persons less than 65 years of age to declare themselves old enough to qualify for old-age assistance. This is much more pronounced on the part of Negroes than that of white people, and occurs more commonly in the case of women than of men. It also seems to be greatest in the South, and appears to be less frequent among the farm population than among the residents of cities or rural-non-farm areas, *i.e.*, among the village and suburban populations. Consider some of the pertinent facts.

Assume that the age-specific death rates used in the preparation of the United States Life Tables for 1930 prevail. Then the various segments of the population would de-

crease by the following percentages during the ten years in which people aged 55-59, inclusive, were passing into the group aged 65-69, inclusive: white males, 26.6; white females, 21.7; Negro males, 36.4; and Negro females, 36.4. In the decade 1920 to 1930 the observed decreases approached these hypothetical norms rather closely, the number of persons aged 65-69 in 1930 being less than the number aged 55-59 in 1920 by the following percentages: native white males, 23.5; native white females, 19.1; Negro males, 35.9; and Negro females, 28.3. Similar comparisons based on earlier censuses give results closely in accord. But between 1930 and 1940, the decade in which the adoption of new social security legislation made it economically advantageous for some persons to report themselves a few years older than the chronological reality, a very interesting change took place. Native white males aged 65-69 in 1940 were only 21.5 per cent less than the number aged 55-59 in 1930; and for

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native white females the comparable decrease was only 14.0 per cent. These discrepancies are large enough to leave no doubt of their significance, but they are small indeed in comparison with the indicated changes among Negroes. The contingent of Negro males aged 55-59 had decreased by only 12.8 per cent by the time they reached the age group 65-69 in 1940; and Negro females aged

is indicative either of more than average overstatement of age on the part of a state or Census division, or that the area is on the receiving end of a stream of elderly migrants, or both. Among native whites, both male and female, the three southern divisions along with the Pacific are the ones in which the decreases fail to measure up to the national average. The showings of the Pacific

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF PERSONS AGED 55-59 IN 1930 WITH THE NUMBER AGED 65-69 IN 1940: THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE AND SEX*

Race and Sex	Number aged 55-59, inclusive, in 1930	Number aged 65-69, inclusive, in 1940	Increase or decrease	
			Number	Percentage
Native white males	1,674,270	1,314,177	-360,093	-21.5
Native white females	1,596,555	1,372,341	-224,214	-14.0
Negro males	174,367	151,990	-22,377	-12.8
Negro females	135,030	144,747	9,717	7.2

* Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Vol. II. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 16-19.

65-69 in 1940 are actually 7.2 per cent more numerous than were those aged 55-59 in 1930. See Table I.

These data demonstrate not merely the racial differential, but a significant one between the sexes as well. Among whites as among Negroes, women were more prone than men to advance too quickly into the 65-69 age group.

The determination of regional differences is very difficult because of the migrations of elderly persons from one section of the country to another. Thus the fact that there were more persons aged 65-69 in 1940 than there were in the age group 55-59 in 1930 in such states as California, and Florida is partially due to the migration of persons who have retired from active life to those states. With existing data it probably is impossible to determine exactly the relative importance of the two variables, *i.e.*, overstatement of ages and migration, in each of the regions and states. Nevertheless, a careful study of Table II enables some tentative observations to be made.

In studying these data it is to be remembered that a percentage decrease which is considerably less than the national average

Coast, of Florida, and of the Gulf States should be discounted liberally to allow for the known migration of elderly persons to those states. By the same token the percentages for the northern and midwestern divisions should not be accepted at face value, since they are the sections furnishing most of the migrants. But after all due allowances have been made it still is probable that the southern states are the ones in which the tendency of white people to add a few years to chronological reality has been the most pronounced. The nature of migrations among Negroes and the manner in which the colored population is distributed in the United States combine to make uncertain the results of any regional analysis of the data for them.

Finally there are some interesting differences between the residential groups. (See Table III.) Even though a liberal allowance is made for the known inaccuracies in the age data, the observed differences are of considerable importance. Changes in the rural-farm areas are most in accord with logical expectations. In urban and in rural-nonfarm territory, on the other hand, the tendency to hasten into the over-65 category

TABLE II. PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN THE NUMBERS OF PERSONS AGED 65-69 IN 1940 IN COMPARISON WITH THE NUMBERS AGED 55-59 IN 1930, BY STATES AND CENSUS DIVISIONS, RACE AND SEX*

States and Census Divisions	Percentage Changes			
	Native Whites		Negroes	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
New England	-25.3	-16.0	(1)**	(1)
Maine	-22.2	-15.2	(1)	(1)
New Hampshire	-23.9	-18.8	(1)	(1)
Vermont	-27.1	-20.4	(1)	(1)
Massachusetts	-27.1	-16.6	(1)	(1)
Rhode Island	-28.9	-17.5	(1)	(1)
Connecticut	-21.2	-11.7	(1)	(1)
Middle Atlantic	-26.3	-18.9	-23.3	-4.4
New York	-26.7	-17.4	-16.0	11.0
New Jersey	-28.4	-19.0	(1)	(1)
Pennsylvania	-25.2	-20.5	-26.9	-12.7
East North Central	-22.5	-16.5	-15.6	12.6
Ohio	-22.0	-16.2	-18.0	6.5
Indiana	-21.5	-17.5	(1)	(1)
Illinois	-24.7	-17.1	-10.5	23.1
Michigan	-22.8	-16.7	(1)	(1)
Wisconsin	-19.1	-14.3	(1)	(1)
West North Central	-21.5	-16.3	-22.0	-5.2
Minnesota	-19.8	-14.3	(1)	(1)
Iowa	-20.4	-16.2	(1)	(1)
Missouri	-19.7	-15.2	-19.4	-4.8
North Dakota	-30.6	-25.2	(1)	(1)
South Dakota	-28.2	-22.4	(1)	(1)
Nebraska	-23.0	-18.3	(1)	(1)
Kansas	-23.8	-17.1	(1)	(1)
East South Central	-17.5	-10.6	-13.8	3.1
Kentucky	-17.5	-11.9	-18.3	-7.5
Tennessee	-16.6	-9.7	-11.7	9.2
Alabama	-22.4	-14.0	-15.8	-1.8
Mississippi	-12.1	-4.0	-11.9	7.8
South Atlantic	-18.2	-9.3	-13.2	6.5
Delaware	-18.6	-12.3	(1)	(1)
Maryland	-23.1	-14.7	-18.0	-9.2
District of Columbia	-25.8	-11.5	(1)	(1)
Virginia	-20.6	-13.1	-20.1	-11.9
West Virginia	-19.0	-14.2	(1)	(1)
North Carolina	-20.2	-11.0	-18.9	6.3
South Carolina	-22.5	-11.8	-0.4	13.1
Georgia	-19.5	-9.4	-14.2	11.4
Florida	5.4	17.4	-1.5	40.3
West South Central	-18.8	-10.1	-3.6	18.7
Arkansas	-20.3	-16.9	-20.9	-2.7
Louisiana	-21.2	-10.1	-6.1	14.9
Oklahoma	-21.0	-12.3	-8.0	(1)
Texas	-16.5	-6.9	13.1	36.2

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TABLE II (continued)

States and Census Divisions	Percentage Changes			
	Native Whites		Negroes	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Mountain	-22.9	-14.3	(1)	(1)
Montana	-27.9	-19.2	(1)	(1)
Idaho	-20.3	-14.6	(1)	(1)
Wyoming	-29.7	-16.2	(1)	(1)
Colorado	-20.5	-12.8	(1)	(1)
New Mexico	-23.1	-16.6	(1)	(1)
Arizona	-18.9	-10.9	(1)	(1)
Utah	-24.4	-12.1	(1)	(1)
Nevada	-28.3	-17.4	(1)	(1)
Pacific	-15.5	-2.4	(1)	(1)
Washington	-18.3	-11.2	(1)	(1)
Oregon	-17.3	-10.9	(1)	(1)
California	-14.3	1.2	(1)	(1)
United States	-21.5	-14.0	-12.8	7.2

* Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Vol. II. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 16-19.

** Symbol (1) indicates less than 2,500 persons aged 65-69 in 1940.

TABLE III. COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF PERSONS AGED 55-59 IN 1930 WITH THE NUMBER AGED 65-69 IN 1940: THE UNITED STATES BY RESIDENCE, RACE, AND SEX*

Residence, Race and Sex	Number aged 55-59, inclusive, in 1930	Number aged 65-69, inclusive, in 1940	Increase or decrease	
			Number	Percentage
Native white males				
Urban	833,085	625,728	-207,357	-24.9
Rural-farm	482,466	382,147	-100,319	-20.8
Rural-nonfarm	358,719	306,302	-52,417	-14.6
Native white females				
Urban	889,865	775,698	-114,167	-12.8
Rural-farm	374,666	285,114	-89,552	-23.9
Rural-nonfarm	332,024	311,529	-20,495	-6.2
Negro males				
Urban	69,921	63,300	-6,621	-9.5
Rural-farm	74,602	61,081	-13,521	-18.1
Rural-nonfarm	29,884	27,609	-2,275	-7.5
Negro females				
Urban	63,019	73,082	10,063	16.0
Rural-farm	49,002	44,904	-4,098	-8.4
Rural-nonfarm	23,009	26,761	3,752	16.3

* Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, "Population,"* Vol. II. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 16-19.

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is most strongly pronounced, slightly more in the latter than in the former. In part the "pickup" among females in urban and rural-nonfarm areas is to be attributed to the migration of elderly females from the farms, for the American village has as one of its chief functions the provision of a place in which elderly women may pass their declining years of life. Likewise the significant sex differences may be due in part to the known tendency of the cities to retain aged females in larger proportion than they keep their aged males. But the residential differentials are so great that they probably are not accounted for by these two factors alone.

The rural-nonfarm and urban Negro females make up the categories in which all three extremes—residence, race, and sex—are combined. In each case the number of

persons aged 65-69 in 1940 was 16 per cent greater than were those aged 55-59 ten years earlier.

In conclusion it may be repeated that since the institution of the social security program in the United States there has developed a strong tendency for persons beyond the prime of life to hasten into the social security ages. But one should not assume that the visit of the census enumerator was either the motive or the occasion for the addition of a year or so to the chronological reality. Probably most of the persons involved "picked up" the additional years some time before April 1, 1940, and the report to the enumerator was merely in agreement with data that were being supplied in other connections.

A SOCIAL PICTURE OF A CONGREGATION

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THE WELL established Protestant Church offers a fascinating canvass for the study of class distinction. Despite doctrinal disavowal of the principle of class lines, the social connotation of the railroad tracks has its counterpart in the pew.

The church selected has a history of something more than two hundred years. The church was eighty years old when the township was incorporated. Today, the fifty thousand inhabitants of the community reflect the heterogeneous accumulation that the two centuries have brought. The years have added notable ethnic groups of German, Polish, Irish, Jewish, Russian, and Italian people. The original Protestant predominance has faded before the influx of new people and the city is now 60 per cent Catholic. The new racial groups have tended toward separate residential areas marked by churches representing each group. From the ethnic standpoint, the church has been the supreme instrument for maintaining cultural diversity.

The church of our survey has remained the stronghold of those who do honor to the

generations of the past. The D.A.R. is present in force and such words as "Pilgrim" and "Plymouth" have become titular symbols for various organizations. Outmoded furnishings remain scared objects to the generations that have followed the donor.

The \$250,000 building, \$200,000 endowment, \$25,000 annual budget, and 1,300 members place the church among the well established churches of the country and assure its position in the eyes of the denomination and the community, although it has been forced to bow numerically to certain Catholic Churches of the city. Its benevolent giving places it among the top 5 per cent of the churches of its size and denomination. Among the membership of the congregation you may find the past three Chairmen of the Community Fund drive, four out of the last five chairmen of the Red Cross drives, and thirty-five per cent of the directors of the local Y.M.C.A. The record of the church and its membership has been exceptionally high in the civic benevolence of a community that ranks in the top five cities in the United States for individual War Bond sales, Com-

munity Fund giving and Red Cross contributions.

The Church group is in no sense an indiscriminate one. Its program, practice, and standards are those of an institution whose appeal is made on grounds of social compatibility rather than doctrinal conviction.

BASIS FOR CLASSIFICATION

The analysis of social classes within the church was based upon a card index of the membership by families including information about the occupation, place of residence, size of family, interest groups, official positions, financial contributions, and the observable church interest of each person. Interviews served to supplement the rather accurate and extensive files of the church office. The classification was made upon secular standards and the following five groupings were used:¹

1. *Upper (U)*. The upper class rating generally implies an income derived from a business enterprise that is controlled in large part by the individual. It implies social acceptance in any of the exclusive groups of the city. This classification permits no qualification on any score save that of personal popularity. The age of the city has excluded the entrance of the "*Nouveaux riche*" and the persons included have, without exception, either inherited a good part of their resources or have married into families whose position assures their standing. The income level is from \$10,000 per year up to incomes (chiefly from investments) well over the million dollar mark. Background and training have combined to develop persons capable of holding their positions upon merit.

2. *Lower Upper (LU)*. This class is slightly larger than the upper class. Its failure to justify the higher rating may be for a wide diversity of reasons. The income level would be largely in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 range with frequent possession of invested funds. Its members are socially acceptable in any group and their position assures status if not leadership. Their superiority over members of the upper middle class is established by

length of residence; prominence of their families; public acceptance accorded their positions, as in the case of professional men; location and luxury of their homes; and a relative financial independence. They are largely professional men, owners of smaller business firms, and subordinate executives in the larger companies.

3. *Upper Middle (UM)*. The financial range of this class is approximately that of the lower upper group. The differentiating factors are those of type and location of residence; financial stability; the level of civic and cultural activity; family position; and occasionally the length of residence. Possibly the chief criterion is that of stability.

4. *Middle Class (M)*. The income level has a variation from a low of \$1,500 to \$5,000. The question is not so much the size of the income as stability in good and bad economic conditions. Thrift and stability are the major criteria. The church often provides the central social organization for the people of this classification and they bulk large in the life of the church.

5. *Upper Lower (UL)*. War time economy has depreciated the importance of the financial criterion here. However, members of this class are mostly at the mercy of economic tides. The presence of representatives of this group in the Church is largely due to the less discriminate groupings in boy and girl groups. It is rare for the church to receive a person from this group in maturity.

The division of the 1300 members is: Upper 5 per cent; Lower Upper 9 per cent; Upper Middle 22 per cent; Middle 50 per cent; and Upper Lower 13 per cent.

FINANCIALLY SPEAKING

The following table offers a picture of the financial support of the Church.

Amount of Yearly Pledge	Percentage of Membership Making Such Pledges	Percentage of Budget Accounted for
\$200 and over	2.9	23.0
\$50-\$100	6.0	26.0
\$25-\$40	9.0	16.0
\$10-\$24	31.0	22.0
0-\$10	51.0	13.0

¹ Warner and Lunt, *Yankee City Series*, vol. 1, Yale University Press.

Accuracy here demands recognition of the fact that these figures are for the \$16,500 raised by subscription. The endowment income is composed almost entirely of gifts from the U and LU brackets. Adding the top two brackets of the pledges and taking the total budget of \$24,500, the figures indicate that 64 per cent of the present income of the church is due to the fact that the organization now has and has had for generations about 10 per cent of its membership in the large income bracket. These figures indicate an obvious dependence upon the more wealthy individuals. An interesting sidelight upon the matter of proportionate giving, however, came in a call upon the person making the largest gift in the church. He was criticizing the taxes that took 88 per cent of his income over \$200,000 per year. At the rate of 12¢ on the dollar his pledge of \$500 cost him \$60 for the year.

Financially speaking, the church bears the stamp of a "rich man's" church. This does not imply that it is largely composed of wealthy people. It does suggest that the entire life of the church is colored by the past and present loyalty of wealthy members. This is symbolized by the building itself. Two of the wealthiest members were on the building committee. They visited the architect who was engaged at the moment in building a stone church. They were impressed and asked the difference in cost between such a building and the \$75,000 brick building they had originally planned. The difference was \$100,000 so they decided over the luncheon table to give \$50,000 apiece to erect the present granite and marble structure.

FINANCIAL CONTROL

Immediate control of the financial life of the church is vested in the Trustees. During the past thirteen years this board of three men, elected one a year for a three-year term, has been composed of: seven U class men; three LU; two UM; and one M. The two UM and one M class trustees served during a period in which the church fell \$12,000 behind on running expenses. This sad state of affairs became the prime problem of a new minister who "encouraged" the resigna-

tion of one M man, and an immediate resumption of a straight U ticket for trusteeship ensued. A quiet meeting of twenty U and LU men wrote off the \$12,000 deficit.

In a thoroughly shaken mood the financial experts of the congregation organized a Finance Committee that is composed of five U and two LU men. Centering responsibility for the deficit where it in all probability did center, the fact that leadership had fallen out of the hands of those who could afford it, this committee was born of twelve thousand dollars worth of travail. It meets only for called meetings and is plainly an insurance policy.

The benevolent funds are limited to 20 per cent of the funds raised by subscription. The World Service Committee therefore is charged with an educational program and the allocation of funds. The composition of this committee is one U; two LU; and three UM.

Two marginal agencies raise separate funds; the Camp Committee that is in charge of the Church Camp (donated by a U member) and the Woman's League. The Camp Committee is largely selected upon the basis of a willingness to give time and it is composed of a chairman (LU), one LU, three M, and three UL.

SOCIALLY SPEAKING

The social appeal of the institutional church is an outstanding criterion of its prospective growth. Competition among liberal Protestant bodies has shifted from the doctrinal warfare of the past to the weapons of social appeal. The number of non-church members associated with an organization in the church is a factor in judging its social appeal. The following table indicates the social division in a number of the major organizations and the percentage of the group who are members of the church.

Actual figures indicate that more than 75 per cent of the members received into full church membership during the last three years were first assimilated into some phase of organized social life in the institution. The financial status of the church makes it possible to have a staff of one full-time

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worker with two part-time assistants for the young people's work. The effectiveness of this is obvious in the appeal of the young people's organizations to people outside the actual church membership. Under these leaders the youth work averages nearly 50 per cent non-church members and the pastor's class in church membership records indicate that more than half of the young people who are first associated with the church through youth organizations eventu-

position (1 U, 3 LU, 5 UM, and 1 M) includes three bankers with minor executive positions, one doctor, one insurance man, two merchants, and three industrial foremen.

The voice once given the Deacons has passed to the Church Committee composed of twenty-four members with the Minister serving as chairman. The members are the presidents of all major organizations and four members at large elected by the congregation. The composition here is 5 U, 7 LU,

Organization	Age Level	U	LU	UM	M	UL	Sex	Percentage of Church Members
No. 1	25 up	5	6	13	17	1	F	96.0
Officers		—	4	—	—	—		
No. 2	25-50	5	15	36	40	21	F	79.0
Officers		—	—	1	2	2		
No. 3	45-60	5	8	18	20	12	F	74.0
Officers		1	1	—	—	1		
No. 4	50 up	3	4	10	15	10	F	77.0
Officers		—	1	—	1	1		
No. 5	18-30	—	2	1	4	10	F	82.0
Officers		—	—	—	3	—		
No. 6	30 up	2	2	12	15	—	M	88.0
Officers		—	—	3	—	—		
Boy Scouts	12-15	5	8	12	25	10	M	50.0
Boy's Camp	8-16	5	10	19	41	15	M	48.0
Girl's Camp	8-16	6	9	20	38	16	F	52.0

ally enter into full membership with the Church.

While the groups are composed of varying social classes, the equipment and staff would place the actual social activity upon an upper class level in comparison with similar organizations in the community.

CONTROL, OFFICIAL AND ACTUAL

One of the delightful things about a church organized upon the basis of the congregational type of government is that very few people ever have the idea that they are being controlled. However, it would be inaccurate to assume that there is no control, and equally inaccurate to insist that only those who are elected to office are able to sway the policies.

Technical control was once vested in the Deacons. The deaconry has now become, however, an office used to pay passing respect to the faithful who are not deemed capable of being Trustees. The present com-

4 UM, 6 M. Action by this committee is generally tantamount to acceptance by the church.

The actual control is a far more elusive thing. The prejudice of the congregation against dancing in the parish house was of many years' standing. It disappeared when a large room was completely redecorated as a memorial by one of the U class individuals with the twin stipulations of a bronze plaque and the privilege of dancing for the young people. The young people now have dances.

A revealing bit of control occurred during the early days of the war. The minister requested an indefinite leave of absence for military service. The prospects for interim leadership were not bright and some twenty-five influential members from the UM and M classes gathered unofficially to affirm their opposition. Telephone conversations led them to believe that they were in the majority. The three U class Trustees, however, decided after some debate to support the re-

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quest. At the Church Meeting, one trustee nominated another to chairman the meeting; the second trustee moved that the minister's request be granted; the other trustee seconded the motion. The vote carried 222 to 2.

Nine months later the situation was repeated in still more significant form. The prominent radio preacher who had filled the pulpit accepted a call to another church. Prospects were indeed dark and the Church Committee voted unanimously to inform the minister that a continued leave of absence seemed inadvisable. This decision was reached at the third meeting of the Committee. A fourth meeting was called to hear the letter that had been prepared. The Chairman of the Finance Committee returned from his summer home in time for this meeting and immediately upbraided the entire committee for personal disloyalty to their minister. He forced an affirmation of the leave through a very reluctant committee and it passed the Church Meeting by a vote of 226 to 3.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee gave his definition of democracy during the critical Church Committee meeting. His words were, "the greatest thing about democracy is that people will listen to those who have the best judgment and I am convinced that they will do so here." He won.

THE CHURCH AND ITS CLASS LINES

The significance of the church as a social unit lies not in the absence of class lines within the group but in the inclusion of virtually all classes within a single organization. The church does have class lines within its group of people but social lines are still crossed in society and they are probably more readily crossed in groups bound by an expressed ideology that denies their validity. The church is not the automatic agent of an Horatio Alger career but the congregation studied offers numerous individual instances where persons have gone beyond their normal environment through the discovery of a higher social level in their church association.

The church in our present study offers a college loan fund to young people; the "Deacon's Fund" provides for moderate loans to any family at the minister's discretion; and "Camperships" of varying sizes make the summer camp available to all of the young people. If the financial control centers in a small group, the leadership of the social organizations does not.

While no claims can be made for social equality in the practice of the church, it includes many classes and holds an ideal by which its own failures may be criticized.

OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



SECTIONS AND CHAIRMEN FOR 1945 MEETING

The following members of the Society have consented to act as Chairmen of the Sections for the 1945 meetings:

SOCIAL RESEARCH—Raymond V. Bowers.
SOCIAL THEORY—Talcott Parsons.
SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY—Clifford Kirkpatrick.
POPULATION—Irene Taeuber.
SOCIOMETRY—Robert K. Merton.
COMMUNITY AND ECOLOGY—Charles Loomis.
FAMILY—Ray E. Baber.
CRIMINOLOGY—Donald R. Taft.
POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY—Sigmund Neumann.
EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY—Lloyd Allen Cook.
CONTRIBUTED PAPERS—Katharine Jocher.
KIMBALL YOUNG, *President*

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

During 1944 the activities of the Social Science Research Council followed the general lines indicated in Professor E. W. Burgess's admirable and full report of last year. The prosecution of the war, of course, continued to make demands upon the time and energy of staff members, as witnessed by the maintenance of the Washington office and the counseling services performed by Donald Young, Paul Web-bink and others. Yet in addition to helping in the war effort and to carrying forward certain projects previously approved, the Council made progress in planning for the post-war period.

In this respect the most important development was the establishment of a program of Demobilization Awards made possible by a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The purpose of these awards is to aid the return of promising young social scientists to professional careers or training disrupted by wartime duties. The program is entirely flexible, so as to provide assistance to suit a wide variety of individual needs. Such assistance may take the form of a grant to do research, or of a part or full-time fellowship. Applicants may be of either pre-doctoral or post-doctoral status.

In addition to organizing and initiating this

new means of aiding in the training of social science research personnel, which has always been one of the Council's chief functions, the regular fellowship programs were continued. Despite the wartime decline in the annual number of applicants for pre-doctoral and post-doctoral fellowships, seven of the former and eight of the latter were granted for 1943-1944. Of the former, four went to sociologists: Robert F. Bales, Harvard University; Paul J. Campisi, University of Chicago; Neal A. Gross, Iowa State College; and Otto Pollak, University of Pennsylvania. Of the latter, two were awarded to sociologists: Dr. Paul W. Tappan on the staff of Queens College, and Dr. Kurt H. Wolfe of Southern Methodist University.

Other efforts concerned with the interests of social science personnel included a conference of representatives of the university social science research organizations held in April, 1944 in New York. This conference explored some of the major problems in organizing teaching and research in social fields during the demobilization period and was enthusiastic in its support of the Council's program to aid younger men.

Another effort has to do with the present situation and postwar prospects of social science personnel in government service and the relation of such service to university training. The Council's Committee on Public Administration engaged Lloyd Short to examine the conditions of service in the national government, and in accordance with his recommendations the Council has appointed a small committee to aid the Civil Service Commission in outlining a desirable program.

With the object of improving the quality of social science data Council committees produced a number of reports during 1944. The Committee on a Guide for Study of Local History published a volume entitled *Local History: How To Gather It, Write It, and Publish It*, prepared by Donald Dean Parker, and edited for the Committee by Bertha E. Josephson. In conjunction with governmental and private agencies, the Committee on War Studies took an active interest in promoting the collection and retention of adequate records of wartime

behavior, both military and civilian, and local and national in scope. Such data will be invaluable for all the social sciences after the war. Of more immediate interest to sociologists, particularly in western universities, is a project of the Subcommittee on Social Statistics of the Pacific Coast Regional Committee which has resulted in the publication of a first issue of an inventory of available materials and current research in the fields of population, labor, health and welfare, housing, crime and delinquency. This publication is entitled *Projects And Source Materials In Social Statistics: Pacific Coast*.

The Council has long encouraged research which called upon several disciplines for theoretical and methodological contributions. One such study was an investigation of environmental effects on foster children, begun by Dr. Barbara Burks under the supervision of a subcommittee of the Committee on Social Adjustment, and completed by Dr. Anne Roe in 1944. The results of this study will be published by the Yale School of Alcohol Studies.

A new subcommittee of the Committee on Social Adjustment was appointed in December, 1943 to explore research needs with respect to the subject of adjustment in old age. Under its supervision an annotated bibliography of sources of data and completed research in this field was prepared by Erich Rosenthal, and published in April, 1944. This subcommittee also sponsored a conference on research planning in its field; initiated work on the development of a new research instrument, namely, a standardized inventory and scale of adjustment for the study of later maturity; and organized the preparation of research planning memoranda, one by Otto Pollak and Clark Tibbitts on old age and employment, the other a comprehensive report on potential research in the whole field, to be prepared by several specialists.

Another project of the Committee on Social Adjustment deals with a subject of particular interest at this time, the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. Roger G. Barker has prepared a critical survey of recent research in this area and is engaged upon an extensive planning memorandum on the subject.

In addition to various specific studies which draw upon several of the social science disciplines, the Council has recently joined with the National Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies in setting up a Conference Board of Associated Research Councils. The Board will consider the mutual in-

terests of research in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities, and will facilitate co-operative projects.

The Council has continued its efforts to encourage repeated testing of generalizations or relationships suggested in completed researches in social fields, by restudy of data or new experiments. The restudy of R. C. Angell's case histories analyzed in his book, *The Family Encounters The Depression*, is practically completed and scheduled for publication in 1945. During the year the Committee on Social Adjustment organized an experimental project in the field of social psychiatry, with the aim of testing or further developing some of the findings suggested in R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham's *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* and other studies showing relationships between various types of mental disorders, socioeconomic status and residential mobility. Other repetitive studies have been considered, and as Professor Burgess said in last year's report, "further suggestions are welcomed."

The Council's interest in systematic appraisal of research methods is a continuing one. The project having to do with methods of using personal documents in social science research will be concluded with the publication early in 1945 of a volume entitled *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology*, by Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and R. C. Angell. Another undertaking in the general field of appraisal and improvement of research methods which is particularly timely is concerned with attitude and opinion measurement. Quinn McNemar has prepared a preliminary memorandum on methodological problems in this field and a critical review of the research literature as a basis for further work toward scientific development of this area.

In addition to its endeavor to raise the level of research standards, the Council from time to time attempts to promote research in important but neglected fields. The excellent accomplishments of the Committee on Social Security represent just such a development. In the autumn of 1943 a Committee on Labor Market Research was appointed to explore this field and to plan for research therein. A series of meetings resulted in a number of tentative conclusions. Among these was the general conviction that if we are ever to arrive at scientific knowledge of the functioning of the labor market, its problems must first be defined, in part, in terms of population factors, human motivations, and social relationships. Further-

more only by objective testing and retesting of hypotheses in an interdisciplinary approach will it be possible to arrive at systematic generalizations upon which prediction and control may follow. Arrangements have already been made for study of relationships between labor market problems and population factors.

An emerging complex of problems on which the Council has been promoting research through its Committee on War Studies has to do with the social and psychological impact of the war

upon the American people. Commitments for three studies of interest to sociologists have been secured by this committee: Philip Hauser and Conrad Taeuber will prepare a monograph on the effects of the war on American population movements; Francis Merrill, one on social adjustments to wartime conditions; and Louis Wirth, one on the effect of the war upon minority groups.

KIMBALL YOUNG, *Representative*

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CURRENT ITEMS



NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON STOUTER'S THEORY

Isbell's recent test¹ of Stouffer's theory relating distance of migration with opportunities, like Bright and Thomas' earlier one,² emphasizes the need for formulation of a better definition of opportunities. Like the earlier study, it also shows a tendency for the data to substantiate the theory, thus giving further justification for new efforts to improve this definition. Focusing their analysis on the points of greatest discrepancy between observed and expected results, both studies have contributed largely to an improvement of the techniques first applied.

A view of migrating as one form of choosing, rather than as one form of going a distance, may bring new light on the problem. Here the work of those who term their studies of patterns of choosing *sociometry* deserves examination for its adequacy in dealing with the questions posed by Stouffer's theory.

The sociometrists have been using the term *attraction* for that which Stouffer calls *opportunities*. They might like to restate the theory somewhat as follows: The number of persons in a group, m , choosing another group, n , varies directly with the attraction of n and inversely with the sum of intervening attractions.³ But the procedure for measuring attraction here would boil down to the same thing as the procedure for measuring opportunities in Stouffer's statement of the theory.

¹Eleanor C. Isbell, "Internal Migration in Sweden and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, 1944, 6:627-639.

²Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, 1941, 6:773-783.

³Stouffer's statement: "The number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities." Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, 1940, 5:845-867.

In thinking of migrants going a distance, there may be a temptation to picture persons setting out from a point of origin for a given destination, some of whom drop out along the way as they encounter opportunities. These opportunities are usually thought of as economic. In thinking of migrants as choosing a community in which to live, one imagines persons, prior to setting out on their journey, comparing the amount of their liking for one or more distant points and their liking for remaining where they are.

This latter point of view appears to coincide more nearly with Stouffer's idea of intervening opportunities than does the view of Bright and Thomas, who wrote: "By no stretch of the imagination can migration from Indiana to Minnesota be considered as inhibited by opportunities 'intervening' in Kentucky, West Virginia, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Virginia."⁴

Stouffer, in his procedure for measuring intervening opportunities, assumes that migration from Indiana to Minnesota is inhibited by opportunities intervening to the south and east. And if the intervention takes place before the migrant starts on his journey, while he is in the process of choosing where to go, this is a reasonable assumption. A Hoosier's knowledge or belief that an opportunity for work exists in Pennsylvania or Virginia might very well inhibit his decision to move to Minnesota.

In thinking of migrating as choosing, and of opportunities as intervening before the journey starts, opportunities are seen to be a function of communication. It is not the jobs, healthful climate, recreation or friendly people that constitute opportunities, in this view, but the knowledge or belief of the migrant that such benefits exist.

Restated to make this point clear, Stouffer's theory would read: The number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of benefits believed to exist at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of benefits believed to intervene.

⁴Bright and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 782.

In testing the theory, two communities have caused such great discrepancies between observed and expected results that the investigators saw fit to make new calculations excluding them. These were California, in Bright and Thomas' study, and Stockholm, in Isbell's study. Of California the investigators wrote:

"We are of the opinion, however, that an important part of the migration to California has been of a hedonistic rather than of a primarily economic character and has been motivated more by climate and legend than by superior job opportunities."⁵

Exclusion of California in new calculations showed closer agreement between observed and expected migration for the United States as a whole and for its regions separately. Exclusion of Stockholm also brought closer agreement between observed and expected migration in Isbell's study. Of this she writes: "That the opportunities in the capital have a distinctive character, attracting migrants regardless of the number of intervening opportunities, cannot be doubted."⁶

If it is helpful to think of migrating as a form of choosing and of opportunities as depending on communication, then discovery and application of some index giving weight to opportunities in places possessing unusual facilities for communication would seem useful in future tests of the theory. Certainly the two communities causing most serious discrepancies in the two tests cited are places which have powers of communication capable of overcoming distance to a degree not equalled by their competitors. That the discrepancies they cause may be accounted for principally by this superiority in communication is suggested.

RAYMOND E. BASSETT

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SPECIAL PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN STUDYING THE AGED

Early in any attempt to study old people it becomes apparent that there are special problems which arise in research with the aged.

First, one finds that certain research methods which are useful in studying other groups are less effective in studying the aged. Those with limited funds and a limited research staff will be interested in the use of the questionnaire. It has been found that with younger people the

questionnaire type of study achieves results with a great saving of time and expense. Old people present a different problem so that the questionnaire method would be very difficult and its success doubtful. Questionnaires might be used in a study of a limited group of old people who are well educated and who have been engaged in professional work. Even for this group a questionnaire should be very simple to check and should have as few questions as possible. The simple fact of failing physical energy places a limitation upon the ability of an older person to fill out a questionnaire that is at all extensive. If the individual during his active years was not engaged in work which required the use of handwriting and attention to detail, then it is virtually impossible for him, in most cases, to follow through the details of filling out a questionnaire, even when answers may be given by the check method. Furthermore, many old people have poor eyesight or other infirmities which handicap them. Old people will sit and visit by the hour, giving information concerning themselves, without expending the nervous energy that would be required to labor through even a very simple questionnaire. If the individual should fill out a questionnaire with the aid of friends or relatives, then the answers would be unreliable. It is often true that the old person will cover up his real feelings about his present adjustment to those who are caring for him or who know him well. This is especially true if the individual is forced to live with his children.

It seems that the best method of securing data on social-psychological adjustment is the personal interview with a schedule filled out by the interviewer. The writer found that the freest expression was gained from those who lived by themselves. If interviewees lived with others, it was found best to interview them away from the family. If children or grandchildren are present during the interview, they are apt to interrupt and often to correct the comment of the grandparent. In a questionnaire study one would get the relative's evaluation of the old person perhaps more than the inner feelings of the older person himself. This can be illustrated by the case of Grandmother A. who lived with her daughter and son-in-law in a small town. The daughter and son-in-law worked at a store and provided a very comfortable home for the mother. If a questionnaire had been sent to the grandmother, the daughter would have taken the initiative in filling it in, since she was the

⁵ Bright and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 780-781.

⁶ Isbell, *op. cit.*, p. 639.

type who knew her mother's every thought and desire. This would have added little to the understanding of the adjustment of old people living with children. When interviewed in the absence of her daughter and son-in-law, Grandmother A. said she could not wait until the children got off to the store in the morning so that she could get about her work. Her daughter kept her in an easy chair most of the time and would not let her help do dishes or be of any assistance about the house, because "Mother might get too tired, overwork her heart, or fall and hurt herself." The interviewer found Grandmother A. out sweeping the sidewalk when he arrived. She was glad to discuss her feelings and attitudes with this stranger. She did not want to spend the rest of her days in an easy chair being waited upon at all times. She wanted to be busy, to be helping others, and to feel that she could care for herself. A satisfactory research study must be one which will bring out this intimate and truthful expression of feeling. It would be difficult to get the desired results in any study which did not use the personal interview technique.

In interviewing one must have in mind just what he wants to know, and maneuver tactfully to keep the old person on the subject. There is a tendency for older people to take the conversation and get far away from the subject in which the interviewer is interested. One interviewer in taking schedules would spend a whole afternoon talking with one person. He enjoyed talking to people, and since he was an older individual himself, he seemed to gain the confidence of the old people. After some experience it was found that the information could be gained in from forty-five minutes to two hours. The schedule used contained 12 pages. The length of time depended largely upon the ability of the interviewer to keep the old people talking along the line of interest.

People receiving old age assistance must be set at ease on whether the study would affect their "pensions" before they talked freely. Almost always they would say, "Are you from the Old Age Pension Office?" or "Does this have anything to do with how much pension I get?" They were ready to talk freely when they had been convinced that the information given would not affect their pensions.

Different studies have attempted to find out something about the relationship between old people and their children. In constructing a schedule one needs to remember that "children" of old people are usually not young themselves.

This was brought forcefully to the writer's attention when he went into the field with his schedule. It was not unusual to find old people whose children were in the age group from 65 to 75. One feels a little ridiculous asking a man 95 years old how he gets along with his children if the children are 70 years old. Usually this is not the parent-child relationship that the research worker had in mind when he constructed his schedule. Practically all of the children of the aged group have families who have left home or are preparing to leave home. Another question asked which did not yield satisfactory information was this one, "Do your children come to you for advice?" People 65 to 100 do not expect their grown children to come to them for advice. It seemed difficult to get the truth from the old people in many areas concerning parent-child relationships. They would give a very frank reply about their marriage, the deceased spouse, their own mistakes, but when questioned about the loyalty of their children, they grew defensive and in most cases did not seem to wish to discuss the subject. Very few would criticize their children although it was evident in many cases that the children had not done the right thing by the parents. It seems that special thought should be given to all questions dealing with parent-child relationships.

Another area in which the old people are often reticent is the area of religion. Many of the old people interviewed by the writer were no longer active in church work and when asked why they were not active they were inclined to give a socially acceptable reason rather than the true reason. This was especially true of the women, who often said they did not go because of their health. Yet the women had a higher health score than the men who seldom gave this reason. Men were more likely to say that their failure to attend churches was because they were not interested. If one is to include questions on religion in his schedule, the wording of these must be done skillfully to secure the real religious attitudes of the old people.

Although there are special problems which arise in studying old people, there are other factors which make such a study easy. One of the first things that one observes is that old people like to be studied.¹ They welcome the

¹It should be stated that the writer is speaking about the conditions encountered in studying the more or less independent and normal group of old

stranger who comes to them to learn about their problems. They are anxious to express themselves on all subjects but especially on problems concerning themselves and their outlook on life. One is surprised by their frankness and seeming honesty on subjects which a younger person would shrink from discussing. When asked what they thought was the happiest period in life, it was not unusual for the old people to say, "I have been happiest since my husband died," or "My married life was very unhappy because my husband drank too much." One receives the same frank reply to many questions. The old people seem glad to open the pages of their lives to any sympathetic person who will listen. It gives them a feeling of importance to be asked their opinions. There is no doubt that one of the strongest appeals in the Townsend Movement was that it gave the old people this feeling of importance, a feeling denied many of them in everyday living. This friendly response of the old people makes research easy. After taking a schedule, we always had the feeling that the old people had enjoyed our visit and that we would be welcome to call again for more information.

There are many advantages in going to interview old people during the daytime rather than in the evening. If they live with children, the children are more apt to be gone during the day, and one can get a freer and more accurate expression of opinion from the parents.

In taking schedules one is often cautioned to do little writing in the presence of the interviewee. With old people there is no need for this caution; they seem to expect the interviewer to take notes, and it does not cause them to slow up in their answering. In fact, it seems to add to their feeling of importance to have one writing down their comments. In taking schedules it is well to have room to record comments made on all questions. It is easy to check the correct answer, for example, on what the old people consider the happiest

people, who were maintaining their own homes or living with their children and many who were economically independent. Those who have studied institutionalized old people have doubtless faced an entirely different situation. One who studied old people in an institution reported he found it very unpleasant because the old people were so sad and cried frequently when he asked different questions. Almost all of the people studied by the writer were of a rural and small town background. Those with an urban background might reflect problems not observed in this group.

period in life. However, comments such as the following are revealing, "I was happiest when all the children were home," or "When I would come home and get a child on each knee," or "Before the children left home," or "When I was working hard and raising the children." When it comes to interpreting and writing up the information, the comments are very revealing and give the one editing the study a better understanding of those interviewed.

There is much work to be done in the studying of old people. Those chosen to carry on the field work must have a sincere interest in the welfare of old people and must have the perception which will enable them to understand the position of the aged. None but the mature, well adjusted, and interested workers should be sent into the field. With a carefully prepared schedule and well chosen workers, an abundance of needed information can be gained from old people which will make it possible for us to cope effectively with the many new and significant problems of aging.

JUDSON T. LANDIS

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CANADA'S FAMILY ALLOWANCE ACT, 1944

An act providing cash grants for all families in Canada with one or more children under 16 years of age was passed by the House of Commons in August, 1944, and given royal assent two weeks later. As from July 1, 1945, monthly grants will be paid to a parent or other person who has custody of a child, but the provisions of the act do not cover an institution. A sliding scale of grants, increasing in amounts with the child's age, provides from \$5 to \$8 a month to each of the first four children in a family. Smaller grants are paid on behalf of additional children, and the reductions vary from \$1 per month for the fifth child to \$3 per month for the eighth or additional child. The grants must be applied "exclusively towards the maintenance, care, training, education, and advancement of the child." They may be discontinued if they are not properly applied. The right to the grant will be established by registration on behalf of a child born in Canada and resident here continuously since birth, of a child who has been a resident of Canada for three years previous to registration, of a child who has one parent with Canadian domicile for three years before the child's birth and continuously since then, or of

a child who was born while one of his parents was member of the armed forces of Canada or within one year after such parent ceased to be a member of the armed forces.

These cash grants are available to all families without regard to amount of income. But the Family Allowance Act leaves the way open for adjustments in the income tax reductions now granted to parents with dependent children. It is clear that the federal government plans to avoid duplication of benefits under the Income War Tax Act and the Family Allowance Act. At present an income tax exemption is granted on incomes of less than \$1,200 in the case of a married person, and on incomes up to \$660 in the case of a single person. Furthermore, a taxpayer who has a dependent relative under 18 years of age whom he wholly supports is granted a reduction of \$108 in his income tax.

Two precedents for the new legislation exist in Canada. One is the mother's allowance paid by several provincial governments to widows with dependent children and to families whose male head is physically or mentally incapacitated. The other precedent is the dependents' allowance paid since the beginning of the present war by the federal government to the families of men in the armed forces. Marked changes in Canadian public opinion in regard to the state's responsibility for the care and development of the country's human resources can be noted from the fact that all federal political parties supported family allowances, and that the act passed without a dissenting vote at its third reading.

The new act, which is estimated to cost the federal government 250 million dollars annually, will be financed from the consolidated revenue fund. It is expected to correct some of the defects of existing wage systems which take no account of the differences in size of wage earners' families. The monthly grants will supplement family budgets both in normal times and when illness, unemployment, lay-offs, or strikes threaten to reduce or wipe out family incomes. Substantial benefits will also be derived by servicemen's families during the transition from discharge from the armed forces to establishment in civilian occupations and by rural families whose children do not now enjoy the educational, health, and other social facilities which are commonly available to urban children. In general, the act will benefit the less than one-fifth of Canada's total families who now raise more than four-fifths of the country's children.

The new act is also expected to initiate a number of important changes in the national economy. It involves redistribution of the national income and hence increased purchasing power among people in the lower income groups. This will widen the home market for food, clothing and services needed by families. Hence the spending of the family allowances will help cushion the Canadian economy during the period when transition from wartime to peacetime production must be made.

The new legislation has received very little criticism, even from organized labor which until recent years feared that family allowances would weaken its claims for upward revision of wages. The fact that wage scales in both Australia and New Zealand have risen since these countries introduced family allowance schemes is believed by some observers to have allayed these fears among labor interests in Canada.

However, the Liberal federal government's enactment of family allowances has two very vocal critics in the premiers of Quebec and Ontario. Interestingly enough, their protests are based on widely different reasons. The Conservative premier of Ontario claims, despite published statistics to the contrary, that the large French Canadian Families in Quebec "will benefit from the act at the expense of the rest of Canada." The Union Nationale premier of Quebec terms the Family Allowance Act "an invasion of provincial rights." Both men are appealing to old prejudices in their respective provinces in an attempt to weaken the federal Liberal administration's bid for a return to power in the forthcoming federal election.

Meanwhile the first two weeks in February witnessed the registration of 95 per cent of the children in Prince Edward Island, for family allowance purposes. The experience gained in this smallest Canadian province is expected to speed the registration of the children in the other eight provinces during the forthcoming months.

EVA R. YOUNGE

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The *Advisory Council on Human Relations* sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science has completed its first five years of work. During that time it has been concerned chiefly with problems involving human relations in the field of forestry and has co-operated with the U. S. Forest Service. Results have been sufficiently encouraging to warrant a renewal of the

charter for another five years. Recently, the Soil Conservation Service and the Agricultural Extension Service have requested the Council to co-operate with them in dealing with some of the human relation problems involved in Soil Conservation. This added responsibility will considerably increase the activities of the Council, as it will be cooperating with the three major agencies working in the field of soil and forest conservation.

Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, and Dr. Charles E. Lively, University of Missouri, have been members of the Advisory Council since its inception in 1939. The former represents the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the latter, the Secretary of the Council, represents the Rural Sociological Society. Recently Dr. Paul H. Landis, Washington State College, was added to Council membership, representing the American Sociological Society.

The *American Association of Schools of Social Work* announces the appointment of Miss Mary Sydney Branch as Consultant on Pre-professional Education. She is on leave of absence from her position as Assistant Professor of Social Work at the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. Miss Branch plans to consult with undergraduate colleges on what part they can best play in the total program of professional education; what the general content of the undergraduate course should be; what aspect of field work experience should be provided, if any; and what provisions for accrediting and for continuing field service might be developed.

Any schools wishing advice from the Association on matters related to pre-professional social work education are invited to write to Miss Branch in care of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The *American Journal of Sociology* for May 1945 is a special Anniversary Issue commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. Special features are a series of articles on "Developments in the Last Fifty Years"; another series on "The Proximate Future of Sociology"; also one on "Trends in Sociology." Readers are reminded that this is the oldest sociology periodical in the world.

The *Second Annual Institute of Race Relations* under the auspices of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association, will be held at Fisk University July 2-21, 1945. General background material in the field of race relations with special reference to the largest minority group in the United States and the major techniques of social control, will be presented through lectures, panel discussions, and seminars. Persons wishing additional information as to the program, expenses, and scholarships, may write to Professor Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

Boston University. Appointed exchange professor at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, Professor Albert Morris of the Department of Sociology of Boston University will offer his courses in "The Family" and "Criminology" in the summer session. Professor Paul Walter, Jr., of the Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico will give courses at the Boston University summer session in "Social Planning for Post War Reconstruction" and "Race Relations in the United States."

Fisk University. Werner J. Cahnman will teach courses on "Social Stratification" and "Colonial Policies" at the summer school session at Atlanta University.

American sociologists will be interested in the establishment of the *Council for the Promotion of Field Studies* in England and Wales in December 1943. A report of the inaugural meeting may be found in *Nature*, December 18, 1943. The following paragraphs are taken from the Council's descriptive circular:

Aims. Briefly, the aims of the Council are to provide facilities for every aspect of field work at first hand, and to set up for this purpose residential Field Study and Research Centres, distributed throughout the country. The Council wishes to co-operate closely with local Societies and Field Clubs, and through the Centres should also be able to play an important part in the training of the community in sound knowledge, aesthetic appreciation and proper use of the countryside.

Ways and Means. The Executive Committee consider that if the C.P.F.S. is to achieve its objectives it will be necessary to open four or five Field Centres as soon as possible after the war, to be followed by others as occasion and opportunity offer. The Centres will be staffed and suitably equipped to provide adequate board, lodging and working facilities for numbers ranging up to 40 or 50 students. Each Centre will be under the direction of a Warden who will be a trained field observer and an experienced naturalist, with wide cultural sympathies.

A recent communication from Professor H. P. Fairchild reveals that arrangements have been made for the publication of a Spanish edition of the *Dictionary of Sociology* by a prominent publishing house in Mexico City.

Joseph K. Folsom reports that he is terminating his period of service with the Office of War Information in June to return to teaching at the Cornell University Summer School and at Vassar College in September.

In view of the cancellation of the annual spring meeting, the Executive Committee of the *Eastern Sociological Society* has announced the decision to continue the officers elected for 1944-1945 in their respective offices for the coming year: President, E. Franklin Frazier; Vice-President, Robert K. Merton; Secretary-Treasurer, Bernhard J. Stern.

Harvard University. Dr. E. Y. Hartshorne paid a brief visit to the Department while on furlough

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recently from the European Theater of Operations. He has been on leave from the University since September 1941, with the Office of Strategic Services, the Office of War Information, and, since going overseas in September 1943, with the Psychological Warfare Branch, in North Africa and Italy 1943-44, and now with SHAEF. Dr. Robert Freed Bales has returned to the Department of Sociology as Instructor in Sociology after a period of service as Assistant Sociologist for the Section on Alcohol Studies at Yale. Walter I. Firey, Jr., former teaching fellow in Sociology, has accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor at Michigan State College.

Henrik Infield, now with the Office of War Information, reports that his two books, *Cooperative Living in Palestine* and *Cooperative Communities at Work*, recently published by the Dryden Press, are being published also in the Kegan Paul series, Sociology and Social Reconstruction, edited by Karl Mannheim, in England.

Northwestern University. Dr. Janina Adamczyk, who has been an instructor in the Department of Sociology, at Northwestern University has recently accepted a position as Associate Professor and Acting Chairman of the Department of Sociology of the University of Toledo, where she will be teaching courses in theoretical and applied sociology.

Announcement has been made of the **Rocky Mountain Rural Library Institute**, under the joint sponsorship of Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College and the University of Denver School of Librarianship to be held in two sessions, July 23-27 at Fort Collins and July 30-August 10 at Denver. Rural sociologists and agricultural extension workers of the region are cooperating in the program. Interested persons desiring more information may address the Librarian at either of the above-mentioned universities.

University of Maryland. C. Wright Mills is on leave of absence to the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University where he will also teach in the 1945 summer school. Dr. Mills has been named a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow for 1946 to work on the project: "The White Collar Man—A Study of Middle-Class People."

University of Michigan. Robert C. Angell, Chairman of the Sociology Department, has returned to the University after 32 months in the Army Air Forces as a training, intelligence, and historical officer. He has gone on the inactive list as Lieutenant-Colonel. For 16 months he was with Headquarters,

Ninth Air Force, and Headquarters, First Allied Airborne Army, in England and Normandy.

University of Missouri. Associate Professor Brewton Berry has returned to the University after a leave of absence extending over a period of two years. During the academic years, 1942 to 1944, Professor Berry was Rosenwald Fellow pursuing research in the South. Associate Professor Noel P. Gist has had leave of absence during the current academic year, which he spent as visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin. Associate Professor C. T. Pihlblad has returned to the Department after eighteen months' absence on leave with the Office of Price Administration.

University of Washington. Dr. George A. Lundberg, Professor of Sociology and Statistics at Bennington College, has been appointed Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the department at the University of Washington effective October 1, 1945. His position carries the title of Walker-Ames Professor of Sociology and is the first of a limited number of distinguished service professorships to be awarded under the Walker-Ames Fund. Dr. Jesse F. Steiner, who has been the Chairman of the department since 1936, will remain on the departmental staff as a Professor of Sociology.

Wayne University. Dr. Norman Daymond Humphrey, Assistant Professor of Sociology, spent the first semester in Tecolotlan, Jalisco, Mexico, as a post-doctoral fellow on the Rackham Foundation, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Dr. Edward C. Jandy, Associate Professor of Sociology, is serving as a consultant on police practices to the American Council on Race Relations. Maude L. Fiero, Assistant Professor of Sociology, has introduced a course in the Sociology of Religion.

Through the co-operation of many technical schools and universities, master theses that are of importance to industry and research, will be indexed in the technical *Digest-Index* issued by *The National Research Bureau, Inc.*, 415 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Illinois. They will be supplied on microfilm through the Library of Industrial Research, a non-profit organization, acting as clearing house for the exchange of Technical, Scientific and Management information.

CORRECTION

In the review of Carey McWilliams: *Prejudice. Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance* by Leonard Bloom, appearing in the April 1945 issue of the *American Sociological Review* (pp. 313-314), the figure "25 per cent" (p. 314) should be changed to read "39 per cent."

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American Handbook. Prepared by the Office of War Information. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1945. 508 pp. \$3.75.

This is a reference work on wartime America. While forty-four pages are given to "Memorable Dates" running from Lief Erickson in 1000 A.D. to President Roosevelt's warning to neutrals in 1944, apparently 80 per cent of the book is devoted to the presentation of facts of the last ten years. There are thirty-eight chapter headings, covering practically every broad phase of recent American activity.

The manner in which these chapter subjects are broken down into constituent topics and crammed with factual material exhibits a mark of superb accomplishment. In 488 pages there is no sharp break in topical continuity and hardly a violation of good writing form. The book does what it was intended to do: provide an authoritative "manual-supplement to standard historical works." This is the sort of work that becomes at once indispensable to the social scientist concerned particularly with the "characteristic achievements and problems" of America today. This book is supplied with charts and an index. Some documentation would enhance the usefulness of the book, and the print is rather poor for easy reading but is not discouraging.

It is noteworthy here that the Congress expressly forbade the use of funds appropriated to the Office of War Information for the "preparation or publication of any pamphlet or other literature . . . for distribution to the public within the United States." As a result the book was published in a somewhat condensed form by a reputable London publishing house, favorably reviewed, and widely read in the British Isles long before it became accessible to American readers. In the meantime the Office of War Information became a target of criticism by members of Congress for doing what Congress had expressly stipulated, and, ironically enough, the book itself was used as a basis for

bitter political criticism. The ire of Congress however, had its beneficent results. It was this apparently which attracted the attention of the present publisher, who on his own has made the book available to the citizens of this country.

JAMES M. REINHARDT

University of Nebraska

The Theory of Economic Progress. By C. E. AYRES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. 317 pp. \$3.00.

Bertrand Russell once shocked philosophers with the statement that Aristotle was one of the greatest misfortunes that ever happened to the human race. In polite but unmistakable terms Professor Ayres indicates a similar attitude toward that great body of doctrine known as classical economics. In so doing, he lays open a serious and long-existing theoretical problem for both economists and sociologists. There is no way of knowing how many sociologists in the course of their education have had occasion to assimilate the essential dogmas of classical theory, but the present reviewer would have two guesses about this group. First, they must envy the conceptual integration of its structure as compared to the present status of sociological theory; and second they must have their serious doubts as to whether this theory at all reflects present-day economic life and behavior. To this group no better recommendation can be made than to read and ponder Professor Ayres' closely reasoned volume, *The Theory of Economic Progress*.

In this provocative statement of the position of instrumentalism springing from Veblen and Dewey, Ayres has tried to fill out the implications of Thorsten Veblen's dictum: "There is the economic life process still in great measure awaiting theoretical formulation." This, it appears, is to be a task in which criticism of the prevailing tradition and integration of the social sciences will play equally important parts. "The

economist, after all," writes Ayres, "is a member of the scientific community, not a solitary castaway." If economics, as he feels, is "unique among contemporary studies, in being the only one in which eighteenth century (and earlier) habits of thought define the prevailing tradition," Ayres testifies to the growing sense within the fraternity of the futility of subtle mathematical analysis of wholly imaginary price situations and to the demand for a more realistic approach to the understanding of modern economic problems. By now Ayres feels, "great sums of knowledge have already been deposited to the economists' account by philosophers and sociologists, psychologists, historians, and anthropologists," and in this book he has tried, in his own words, "to draw a few checks on that account."

The book falls easily into three parts. The first, a critical attack on the concepts of value, utility, price, and capital and the function of integration and equilibration assumed to be inherent in the price system, is clear cut and definite. It is when he is under the necessity of propounding a coherent body of economic doctrine for the opposition that Professor Ayres' views tend to appear vague and ill-defined.

The nature and the weakness of the revisionist program is apparent in the second section devoted to economic behavior. Briefly, the argument may be represented in part as follows: Economic wants are not to be assumed as primary data; they are social habits, having their origin for every individual in the mores of his community. Neither can natural resources as one of the primary factors of production be defined in terms of the niggardliness of nature without recourse to a functional analysis of resource availability in terms of advancing technology. Similarly, the dogma which assumes the equivalence of capital funds with capital equipment falls before the modifications brought about by technical advance. Finally, the static concepts of property, contract, classical competition, etc., basic to orthodox analysis must be modified by the institutional and ceremonial factors peculiar to any given society or any given stage in culture. Students of society and culture should welcome this approach, but they may wonder how it is to be integrated as a method of economic analysis.

Section three of Ayres' book illustrates the dilemma of institutionalism pointed out by Paul T. Homan some years ago. Once economics abandons its classical framework it risks the danger of becoming hopelessly eclectic and en-

cyclopaedic. Having so far failed to create a complete alternative organon of economic thought, the separate existence of institutionalism itself remains in jeopardy. Ayres himself comments on the facility with which economic orthodoxy is able continually to absorb its critics. Classical theory, hydra-like, presents no one head upon which a lethal blow may be delivered. "It is futile," he writes, "to lay stone upon stone except in terms of some preconceived design, and that is why criticism of the classical design has been so completely ineffective. Whatever the defects of the classical design, it still remains the only over-all design we have, and will remain until another conception of the meaning of economy has taken form." In this task this reviewer feels that Ayres, like all who have gone before, falls far short of his promise. The criticism is brilliant, but the new doctrine is not forthcoming. Ayres anticipates a simplification of theory in which most of the esoteric formulas of economic orthodoxy will be swept away. The meaning of our economic activities will be essentially simple and comprehensible once they are stripped of what he calls the half-truths of the past and the humbug of the present. Before this can happen Professor Ayres feels that two conditions must be met: a new set of ideas must be found with which to make a fresh theoretical start, and old ways of thinking must be abandoned, price analysis and all. This is a stimulating and a valuable book, but it leaves this reviewer with the feeling that the new ideas for the new economics have yet to be integrated into a coherent body of doctrine and an adequate method of analysis. For some theorists, Professor Ayres' book bears adequate witness that the process of disintegration of old ways of thinking is well under way.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

The Modern Prison System of India. By LIEUTENANT COLONEL F. A. BARKER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 155 pp. \$2.50.

This volume is one of a series entitled *English Studies in Criminal Science* promoted by the Faculty of Law of Cambridge University. The author was for many years Inspector-General of Prisons for the Central Province and the Punjab. Because of his long experience in Indian penal affairs he was called upon by the editors to set down the measures taken by the various provinces to implement the Report of the Indian Jails Committee of 1919-20, a most thoroughgoing document.

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Colonel Barker's work is thorough and meticulous in spite of the fact that he wrote it almost entirely from memory since he is at present out of the penal service. Thorough though it is, it makes rather dull reading for the layman. True, one may turn to the appropriate sections and learn something of the prison personnel, classification of inmates, prison labor, aid to released prisoners, medical service, and other traditional phases of penology in India; one may learn what the Report of 1919-20 recommended—there are 584 items and all are listed in the appendix—and ascertain to what degree each of the provinces met these standards. But, after laying the book down, the reader has only a vague and disjointed picture of the prisons of India.

This book is a handbook rather than a description of the Indian prison system. To one unfamiliar with the diverse problems of India, it is unfortunate that a picture of prison life in that country is not adequately presented. Three pages (pp. 66-68) do give us some interesting data; jails in India are spread laterally over the terrain, rather than vertically, because of the intense heat. The Central Jail at Multan, for example, covers 100 acres; all jails must have garden space.

Another weakness of this otherwise excellent book is that little is revealed of the depredations or the character of the criminal tribes of India, which represent the greatest scourge of that vast country. But, in one of the author's appendices there is a fascinating analysis by Sir Louis Stuart, a Sessions Judge, of the causes of violent murder, a type of crime that is definitely on the increase and one which is committed almost casually.

The book's main value is that it presents strong reason why control and treatment of crime must differ widely from that in western countries. "In India . . . there are many different races, languages and religions" (p. 8). Because of these, provisions must be made in jails to cope with them. Wearing apparel, religious services, preparation of food—even separate kitchens—must square with diverse native demands. Truly, the lot of the prison official is hard.

The author's conclusion tells the story: "Despite many difficulties, the past 20 years have shown a great advance in the management of jails and their inmates. Improvements have been effected in buildings, staff, administration and labor while much has been done on the reformatory side" (p. 75). It is his contention

that but for the war these improvements would have continued.

NEGLEY K. TEETERS

Temple University

Costa Rican Life. By JOHN AND MAVIS BIESANZ. Columbia University Press, New York, 1944. Pp. x + 272. \$3.00.

This book presents a sociological analysis of Costa Rican life by two persons who had a rather exceptional opportunity to study that life and the sociological eyes to see its meanings. It is presented in 9 chapters: Land of the Ticos; Class and everyday living; Courtship and marriage; Family life; Education; Work; Play; Religion; and Democracy: If one wanted to be critical he might argue that the authors' findings and observations would have been better presented in an organization of twice this many chapters, because many things are discussed under one or another chapter heading which in terms of sociological analysis are not well catalogued by the chapter headings under which they fall. This is by no means a fatal defect and has been made an asset by the authors in that they have not compromised or skewed their observations by too rigidly following the categories which their chapter headings indicate.

A year spent in an exchange professorship at the University of Costa Rica furnished an opportunity for wide observations in that relatively small country. Such observations must necessarily, however, be largely qualitative. The authors continually utilized a technique of analysis which was more precise by submitting questionnaire after questionnaire to their students of both high school and college grade. On practically all important sociological phenomena they are, therefore, able to present some quantitative data. In addition to this they carefully studied the history of Costa Rica as a nation and the evolution of its culture, an understanding of which they very early became convinced was essential to an understanding of current phenomena which they were studying.

The task of analyzing the culture of a whole people, even though it be a nation of only two-thirds of a million population, is not easy. One is almost inevitably driven first to comparisons between it and his own nation and culture. Secondly, he can, however, study the people purely in terms of their own culture, that is by comparisons between the different segments or classes of that culture. By use of the first type of comparison the reader is given a more vivid picture of the phenomena which

the analyst is describing but is seldom given an understanding of the cultural whys and wherefores of those phenomena. The authors do some of both but, probably inadvertently, do chiefly the first. The reader needs, therefore, to safeguard himself against invidious comparisons—a type of comparison which the authors never emphasize.

In telling about the ordinary life of the people of Costa Rica the authors make a happy combination between analysis and description. The lay reader will be more interested in the description and the social scientist more interested in the analysis. The latter will not have to hunt for analyses because they are always fairly clearly presented, although, as was said above, they are not catalogued in the detail that would have been possible had the authors presented their findings in a greater number of chapters. The former will find that his interest is justified by the descriptions which make him feel that he really knows a lot about the Costa Rican people and their ways of life.

CARL C. TAYLOR

United States Department of Agriculture

Patrick Geddes: Maker of the Future. By PHILIP BOARDMAN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. xvi + 504. \$5.00.

This book should do much to supplement the activities of Lewis Mumford in bringing before American scientists of all hues and specialties the nature and contributions of Geddes, whom Mumford quite correctly refers to in his introduction "as one of the truly seminal minds the last century produced." In addition to personal acquaintance with Geddes, Boardman had the assistance of members of his family and longtime associates. This is reflected at times in extremely intimate details about the life of Geddes. The biography in general takes the form of a chronological or running account of Geddes's life, blending his personal life, his intellectual and scientific interests, and his professional, promotional and other activities.

Quite appropriately Geddes is referred to as "the Scotch Leonardo." Few men of his time (1854-1932) had a substantial, critical comprehension of so many and such varied fields of intellectual and scientific interest. Botanist, biologist and naturalist, and author of significant works in these fields—the "Scottish Darwin"; sociologist and proponent of Comte, founder of what Zeublin called "the world's first sociological laboratory," and, with Victor Branford, founder

of the Sociological Society and the *Sociological Review* (London); iconoclastic economist and friend of Veblen; educator, and critic of university procedures, developer of summer schools, extension courses, workers' education, adult education, visual education by displays ("Index Museum") and expositions; extensive traveler in order to "cultivate his garden"; ethnologist and historian; lecturer, and militant and persistent fighter for humanitarian causes—some of them "magnificent failures"; developer of "regionalism," regional planning, and architect and city-planner at home, in France, Palestine and India; geographer and reclamation expert; psychologist and occasional associate of William James and G. Stanley Hall; establisher of cooperative houses and other housing ventures; publisher and pamphleteer; philosopher and prophet; irrepressible enthusiast and dynamo of action; "maker of visions" and "weaver of spells"; interpreter and synthesizer—"P. G. Unlimited."

As Boardman states, "His life was dominated by ideas—incessant, self-generating, self-propagating ideas . . ." (260). These ideas everlastingly led to convictions and efforts at persuasion and organization. The account of this omniscient, many faceted, colorful, kaleidoscopic, dynamic, tireless and vigorous nature, as presented by Boardman, leaves the reader breathless to the very last of the 480 pages of text.

Doubtless partly due to the discursive nature of Geddes' thought, the fragmentary nature of much of his writing, and the fact that he was a teacher and expounder rather than a systematic writer, his major scientific contributions are presented in rather sketchy fashion. However, even scattered and partial materials lend themselves to systematic treatment, as A. E. Morgan has demonstrated in his recent biography of Bellamy. While Mumford has done justice to Geddes's contributions to regionalism and city planning, there is a crying need for sound, systematic, synthesizing presentations of his work in some of his other fields of interest, especially sociology. Young scholars and seekers for Ph.D. dissertation subjects please take note.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

Mandate from the People. By JEROME S. BRUNER. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. 278 pp. \$2.75.

Bruner's work is an attempt to capture the temper of American thought on international and

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domestic issues through an analysis of public opinion polls. It bears a resemblance to many other recent works such as those by Mead, Brogan, Dos Passos, and Menefee that have tried to depict contemporary American attitudes, but differs from them in using controlled observations as the basis for a description of the "American mind." *Mandate* differs from earlier works on public opinion poll analysis such as Cantril's in its omission of any discussion of the techniques of polling or their limitations. Bruner assumes the validity of polling results and interprets the data as though their meanings were quite straightforward.

As a compendium of American public opinion on foreign and domestic affairs, this study is of value. But it is doubtful if all the interpretations given by Bruner follow directly from the data, and this is the work's basic weakness. If, for example, 36 per cent of the workers in certain war-industry communities indicate their willingness to leave these communities after the war should they lose their jobs, while 58 per cent would stay on, does that mean, as Bruner says, that "the migrant populations will be as ready to leave as they were to come" (p. 186)? If the interpretation in such a case as this is dubious, one may more seriously doubt the many analyses throughout the work based on moot assumptions and *post factum* imputation. The assumption that opinions are rationally derived is implicit in many of Bruner's interpretations. For example, a poll is cited showing 9 people in 10 to be in favor of continuing rationing after the war "if this were necessary to feed people in countries that have been hard hit by the war." Bruner uses this to argue, "The country knows of the dangers of inflation . . ." (p. 183). Not only is this using the poll results out of context, but other polls have indicated that most Americans do not know what the abstraction, "inflation," means.

Further, it is patent, as Bruner recognizes from his data, that opinions on specific matters are often, as the pollsters say, "uncrystallized," that is, they are fluid, subject to the propaganda of events and words. This does not deter the author, however, from making predictions as to what the American mandate will be, e.g., "Americans will demand the heads of war criminals" (p. 147).

Perhaps the most egregious assumption underlying some of Bruner's interpretations is the notion that public opinion is a political force. While this may be true under certain circumstances (and we need a political psychology to

tell us what these circumstances are), it is doubtful that the universe of political action is as dependent upon public opinion as Bruner implies. In fact, much of the polling data attests to the independence of political action from the people's mandate. But when it is recognized that many of the opinions cited concern economic and political affairs about which the public is ignorant—and this Bruner's data often demonstrate—one may be excused an undemocratic sigh of relief.

GWYNNE NETTLER

Reed College

Essays in Social Values. By CLARENCE MARSH CASE. Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1944. 144 pp.

This series of essays may be viewed as a continuation of the author's book *Social Process and Human Progress* (1924), showing his steady effort to develop a comprehensive philosophy of values upon a broad background of sociological knowledge.

The first and leading problem of the book is to connect logically an objective investigation of values—especially social values—with their philosophic standardization. Values are "the selected objects of the evaluators themselves. They are not immediately imposed upon the living being, but are selected by it because of its position on the scale of life. More exactly, the values characteristic of each life level are those objects which the being selects by virtue of the fact that it participates with living beings at that level" (p. 42).

Social values "consist of objects selected by living things . . . because they live in groups" (p. 44). Some values on the social level are: the presence of associates, the group, recognized status in the group, the group habitat, mutual aid. Applying the principle of genetic gradation to the behavior of *human* individuals in relation to other individuals and groups, the author classifies it on a scale corresponding to successive levels of the individual's "social age." Social age is estimated, first, by the nature and degree of the individual's "social awareness"—"awareness of the presence of others, of their pleasure, of their welfare" (pp. 15-16); secondly, by the inclusiveness of the group within which the individual acts and of which he is aware. This ontogenetic scale is also an ethical scale in which the highest level of "social maturity" represents an ideal of altruism to which humanity as an all-inclusive group is the supreme social value.

The second main problem is that of relation-

ships, factual and ethical, between the domain of specifically social values as defined and other complexes of values which characterize modern civilization. The problem is stated on the basis of a general theory of culture. Culture consists in "communal experience externally stored in the form of tools and symbols" (p. 78). These are products of intelligence, which "pursues analysis and ends with the abstract" (p. 82). Man has always supplemented this analysis by creative synthesis in art, philosophy, and religion. But the rapid drive toward analysis in modern times has resulted in a machine technology, a money economy, and a science which have become abstracted from social values and can be used for ends destructive as well as productive of human welfare. A growing trend toward synthesis in thought and action is necessary to lead mankind "beyond civilization" (p. 122).

Our brief summary is quite inadequate, for much deep and original thinking is embodied in this little book. Though some generalizations seem questionable to the reviewer, others deserve a much more extensive treatment. We hope that the author will soon complete the philosophic synthesis for which he has been striving. In the present critical period of human history there is urgent need for a new methodical social philosophy. This need cannot be satisfied by the old sacred or secular schools or by those amateur philosophers who have multiplied without number during the last few years.

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

University of Illinois

Politics and Morals. By BENEDETTO CROCE
(Translated by SALVATORE J. CASTIGLIONE).
New York: Philosophical Library, 1945. 204
pp. \$3.00.

Benedetto Croce is, of course, one of the better-known contemporary European writers. A brief biography of him prepared a few years ago states that in his interests and writings he has shifted continuously from literary criticism, through history, to philosophy; and an examination of the titles and dates of his principal publications bear out this generalization. As might be expected in a small volume of rather comprehensive intention, written by an elderly gentleman of such personal history, this book of two hundred small pages is not social science in the ordinary sense of the term, nor yet is it philosophy of the rigorously reasoned and elaborated academic type. It is an essay—or a series

of loosely articulated essays—embodying the fruit of a lifetime devoted to study and speculation on the fundamental problems of man and society. The style is compressed and sententious, and the author's intent is not always perfectly clear; the book may have suffered somewhat in translation, also, for it must have been difficult to translate into satisfactory, idiomatic English.

Most of what is of greatest interest in this book is to be found in the opening chapter, "Elements of Politics," which occupies only fifty-seven pages of some two hundred words each. This paper may be described as a discussion of two, or perhaps three basic concepts: *politics* (with inflections of the term, "political action," etc.), and *ethics*, or the consideration of moral value; to these is added a third concept of somewhat different order on which Croce places considerable emphasis, namely, *liberalism*. "Political action," he says, "is only an action guided by the sense of what is useful . . . and political action *per se* cannot be qualified as either moral or immoral." This is not exactly the concept of the political, so far as the present reviewer's knowledge goes, that is commonly held by contemporary writers; it is somewhat more inclusive in reference, but not greatly in conflict with the usual concept. It is logical, in view of his broad concept of politics, that Croce writes rather unfavorably of the possibilities of sociology, which he evidently knows chiefly through Pareto's *Treatise*.

"In the field of ethics . . . the life lived is a moral one, for which . . . politics is a means and not an end." "Moral conscience requires that each man, upon resolving to act, descend to the depth of his own being and, with purity and humility of heart, ask questions of and listen to the voice which . . . commands him . . . and follow with resolute and courageous spirit his own 'inner voice.'"

In Chapter Four the author contrasts "liberalism" as a concept and ideal, favorably, with authoritarianism, whether religious or of any other type. He is extremely critical of the notion of equality which he attributes to the philosophers of 1789 and later; however he thinks that "equality before God, whose children we all are," is a valid and useful concept. There is visible in at least two passages, notably on p. 193, an apparent disposition to make the claims of the State upon its citizens ethically absolute, subject only to being restrained by the moral cultivation of mankind.

Those interested in fundamental philosophical

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questions pertaining to human society, and questions concerning society as politically organized in particular, will find this book provocative, but perhaps irritating and difficult to understand. It lacks an index, which would have been helpful.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

War Criminals: Their Prosecution and Punishment. By SHELDON GLUECK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. 250 pp. \$3.00.

Professor Glueck's scholarly, comprehensive, and lucid exposition of a formal, legal basis for trials of war criminals contributes to a better understanding of this tortured question. He persuades us that certain war crimes can be defined adequately for legal process and that individuals, not states, are the proper recipients of punishment. He assigns to national courts punishment of "ordinary" criminal acts, reserving for international courts notorious offenders, enemy leaders, and the persecutors of stateless persons (Jews). Less decisively he questions the cautious British and American military law regarding the traditional defense on the ground of action for the state or at the command of superior officers. He demands surrender of accused men as a justifiable term in the peace treaty, but admits we must overlook the smaller fry and concentrate on the many major offenders. An original feature of the book is a discussion of the possibilities of rehabilitating Nazi party members.

The most significant section of Professor Glueck's book is perhaps the pages (95-113) where he expounds how international courts can legislate on the foundation of the "common (customary) law of nations" as Anglo-Saxon courts built our law from folk custom. This is a stronger legal basis for these trials than I had previously found. The cogency of this reasoning depends, however, upon the existence of one critical condition: an international consensual order with the vitality, say, of English national unity in the 14th century. An excellent complementary discussion relates the existing law of war to our sentiments of national sovereignty, which Glueck believes to be weakening.

As a legal treatise this study is impressive. But on the no less important sociological aspects of war trials Glueck's implied and parenthetical answers to certain key questions require scrutiny since his views are so widely accepted as to seem axiomatic. On these wider

issues his reasoning is loose, emotional, uncertain—as one may judge from his scurrilous and unthinking retort to one serious examination of his thesis (p. 195).

A primary question is whether trials of war criminals are a necessary, major, or constructive aid to peace. Whom will we influence by the trials and whose respect for international law will be enhanced? We must decide how much of our limited political resources we can afford to divert to the trials from other international programs. Perhaps we must really choose between the "symbolic value of joint action . . . to do justice" and other measures of a more humdrum sort. No one thinks, as Glueck appears to believe many do, that merely not holding these trials by itself has value (p. 130). But as we learn, for example, whenever we must deal with sex offenders against minors, the strength of our revulsion at an offense is no guide to the wisdom of the most emotionally satisfying corrective proposed. If we talk of the "family of nations," what kind of family? In short, will it best serve our ends of enduring peace to punish war criminals by international action, even if we can validly do so?

Effort expended on war trials risks not only the neglecting of indispensable concrete economic and political measures but also the aggravation of national antagonisms. We will not strive constructively for peace while talking of the "political quarantine of paranoically ill nations" (p. 177). To say that violations of the rules of war by our soldiers have been "promptly handled by the tribunals of the armies involved" (p. 115) is to confuse the issues. Did the abortive trials in 1919 not contribute to the rise of Nazism? Why did these trials enrage all parts of the German public? Do we dare make co-operation by the next German government in trials of its heroes a measure of international good faith? When we have been unable to pass a federal anti-lynching statute, and when Russia shows no scruples in punishing its pariahs, by what law do we try the German murderers of Jews in international courts? How will we proceed beyond war trials to the creation of a more enduring footing for international amity?

Warfare is a technology. *So long as total wars are fought*, it is debatable whether we can control their manner of fighting any more successfully than our forefathers prohibited usury or throttled the factory system. The existing rules of war, Glueck says, were framed with full consideration of "military necessity." But in total war does not "necessity" change with the rela-

tive strength of the determination of the parties?

In conclusion Professor Glueck professes to be indifferent to the judgment of these trials by "hate-filled and gullible" German people after the war; it is rather the judgment of history he deems important. True, our grandchildren will write this historical judgment, but it is our children who must fight the next war if we allow our attention to be diverted from finding efficient policies to establish and maintain peace.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Iowa State College

Experimental Sociology: A Study in Method.

By ERNEST GREENWOOD. New York: King's Crown Press, 1944. 163 pp. \$2.25.

This book is characteristic of a new trend in methodology—a trend in which the question "Can sociology be an experimental science?" is waived in favor of the questions "What forms do sociological experiments take, and by what criteria can they be evaluated?" The author's conception of a model experiment is one in which a causal hypothesis is tested through the comparison of two contrasting situations in which all but one relevant factor have been controlled. There is no logical necessity, Greenwood points out, that the experimenter himself be the agent in creating the contrasting situations.

The author has set himself a two-fold task: first, a classification of experimental types through the application of his criteria—causal hypothesis, contrasting situations, factor control—to studies called experimental by their authors; second, a critique of each of these types, with particular emphasis on those most eminently suited for sociological use.

Sifting a large number of studies through the mesh of his criteria, Greenwood rejects as non-experimental those investigations which merely attempt to objectify observations, as well as those which construe the term "experimental" as applying to every trial-and-error situation. He confines his attention, then, to the remaining types: the "projected" and "ex post facto" experiments.

The "projected," or model controlled experiment, provides a yardstick by which all deviations in experimental design can be measured. The experimenter's ability to use methods of random selection in assigning individuals either to the experimental or the control group assures a maximum of factor equation for those variables not specifically controlled. But, as Greenwood indicates, this scientific precision is bal-

anced by the disadvantages of *projected* experimentation in sociology: the sociologist's inability to deal with any but the most trivial problems, and the artificiality of experimental situations.

Many methodological critiques have ended on this pessimistic note. Our author, however, focuses his main attention on the "*ex post facto*" experiment (a term borrowed from F. S. Chapin) which, by circumventing the difficulties of triviality and artificiality, is of great potential value to sociology. Here the experimenter arrives on the scene after "natural circumstances" have created the necessary contrasting situations or have produced different effects in segments of the population. Through "symbolic manipulation" of his data, the experimenter tests hypotheses concerning either the effect of an assumed cause, or the cause of an observed effect.

But, Greenwood states, while the *projected* experiment is scientifically impeccable and of little practical value to sociology, the reverse is true of the *ex post facto* experiment. Since social occurrences are not "randomly distributed," there are differences of greater or less subtlety between individuals who find themselves in different social situations; in other words, the experimental and control groups of *ex post facto* experiments are always self-selected to some degree. And, since it is impossible to apply techniques of randomization, factor control is confined to the equation of a few characteristics. The author therefore concludes that the results of an *ex post facto* experiment must always be stated more tentatively than those of a *projected* experiment.

Although Greenwood's cautions are justified, the elaboration of several points suggested by the book may indicate ways of reducing the dangers of which he speaks. First, the author seems to overlook the most direct way of attacking the problems of self-selection and spuriousness: namely, to control those factors which could account both for the fact that individuals find themselves in certain situations and that they exhibit certain behavior or attitudes. Thus, he objects to the *ex post facto* "finding" that unemployment leads to radical attitudes on the grounds that employers are more likely to dismiss their radical employees. The only way to meet this objection is to study it: to equate the employed and the unemployed groups on their radicalism at a time prior to general unemployment and then to examine the prevailing relationship between occupational status and attitude.

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A second consideration concerns the use of *indirect indices*. Some might argue that such factor control can never be applied because of the elusiveness of variables like "previous radicalism." In this respect we still have much to learn from Durkheim in whose works indirect indices of such uncontrollable variables play so prominent a role. Inexact controls are preferable to a complete absence of control. For example, the experimenter in the foregoing example might have characterized different types of past political behavior—vote, party affiliation, etc.—as "radical" or "conservative." If he had used this behavior as a factor for controlling "previous radicalism," the effects of self-selection would have been partially eliminated.

Of the many further problems suggested by Greenwood's book, two which deserve more extended treatment in future methodological studies are the function of explicit hypotheses in making rigorous control possible, and, secondly, the differences—mathematical and logical—between studies which proceed from cause to effect and those which proceed from effect to cause.

Students and teachers both will find in this book a valuable discussion of the basic problems of experimental design, resting on a critical examination of recent major efforts in sociological and social psychological experimentation.

PATRICIA L. KENDALL

Bureau of Applied Social Research
Columbia University

Crossroads of Two Continents. By FELIKS GROSS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 162 pp. \$2.00.

Lately we have been overwhelmed by various suggestions, proposals and plans for a "durable" and "just" peace. All of these proposals are, of course, strikingly public spirited, humane, and world-minded, but nearly all of these peace-planners fail to understand that, if the democratic post-war world is to be realized—and they all agree that democracy as a governmental and a social form will have to prevail—any plans whatsoever concerning the countries of Central-Eastern Europe will have to have the approval of the public opinion of the countries and of their constitutional bodies. In this respect, we are fortunate that Gross' survey is basically an evaluation of the theories emanating from that part of the world. Gross presents in detail the important current plans for a democratic federation of East-Central Europe and European union, relating them to the geo-

political foundations of the region, and particularly to the profound democratic changes going on there. "In order to bring all these small states together, social and political reforms must be effected within each state. The union must be based upon the mutual interests of the common people if it is to endure. A union in name only, without profound changes in the prewar political status of these states, could not survive."

It is true that while the volume was in press, the Russian policies in Europe and the Yalta decisions failed to materialize the hopes which Gross propounds. But this in no way nullifies the validity of Gross' book, which represents an expression of the aim of the liberal and democratic leaders who have their roots in the territory squeezed in between Germany and Russia. In short, it is an admirable and provocative study, based on wide research, which presents a clear and straightforward picture of its subject; it is also a history written by a man of sincerity of mind, from first-hand contact whenever possible, and where that was not possible the writing has been based on authentic documentary material. The full text of thirteen documents dating from the Declaration of Common Aims of the Mid-European Nations, issued in 1918, down to present-day programs of the Danubian Club, the Central and Eastern European Planning Board, and other groups, are useful appendices to the volume, together with a bibliography of fourteen pages which is the best and most up-to-date bibliography on Central-Eastern Europe known to the reviewer.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Hofstra College

Nationality in History and Politics: A Study of the Psychology and Sociology of National Sentiment and Character. By FREDERICK HERTZ. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. x + 417. \$6.50.

The sentiment of nationality has become a greater social force than any other in the immediate present; greater even than the ideology of class war. Unfortunately, however, the book under review does not live up to the promise of the title. After a really painstaking effort in the first chapter to arrive at a definition of nationality and its ancillary terms, the author permits the remaining chapters to become more or less a compendium of loosely joined historical observation and comment on the relationship of nationality to race, language, religion, territory, the state, social conditions, and political theory. The finished task is not one which would be

expected from the employment of the combined techniques of history, sociology, and psychology.

The implied promise of a generalization or theory of nationality is never actualized. The author acknowledges that he has left his self-imposed assignment unfinished, but begs off on the count that an attempt to formulate a "careful statement of general tendencies would require much more space than present conditions permit." "War-time conditions," we are informed, "impose strict limitations on the size of books." "A diagram of the causes of nationalism and the rise of the spirit of nationality, cannot, therefore, be formulated in a few brief sentences." Admittedly they cannot, but the results of "a careful study of history in a comparative and sociological spirit" should yield more than the platitudes about the progress of medical science after the surrender of a belief in demons as the cause of sickness, and the short-sightedness of politicians which prevents them from seeing real causes and acting upon them for fear of arousing national passions and prejudices.

In spite of these methodological strictures, the historical observations found in the present volume are often singularly informative, as the following examples show.

What has today come to be called "total war," i.e., the wrecking of civilian morale by destroying the resources of the enemy country, appears to have been America's contribution to the art of warfare. "The democratic North took the lead in this new type of warfare while the aristocratic South clung more to the old idea of war as a knightly duel, a 'gentleman's war.'" On one occasion when General Sheridan was visiting Bismarck behind the lines during the Franco-Prussian War, the conversation turned to humanizing the art of making war. A high Prussian official defended civilized warfare; General Sheridan dissented. He argued that the civilian population should be dealt with harshly and severely. "It was the aim of strategy to cause the inhabitants so much suffering that they must long for peace and force the government to demand it. The people, Sheridan remarked, must be left nothing but their eyes to weep with. This observation pleased Bismarck."

The critics of the way American history is being taught in the public schools can be reassured. The sentiment of nationality has deeper roots than in the remembering. A test administered to French recruits before 1914 showed that few knew who Joan of Arc was. Similarly, the average German recruit gave no evidence of

ever having heard of Bismarck. All of which makes the reviewer wonder how many American soldiers of the last war had not heard of George Washington.

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

University of Minnesota

The Advanced Theory of Statistics. By MAURICE G. KENDALL. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1944. Pp. viii + 457. \$16.00.

This book by a distinguished member of the Council of the Royal Statistical Society is a comprehensive exposition of the mathematical theory of statistics as it exists to date on the range of topics usually covered in an introductory course. The author indicates in the foreword that a second volume of this work will be prepared to round out his systematic treatment of the field of statistics. Of the chapters in this first volume, six are given over to frequency distributions and their properties, five to theories of probability and sampling, and three to correlation. In his derivations of formulae, the author employs the notations of matrix algebra and calculus in keeping with the practice of the English biometricians.

One of the merits of the chapters on frequency distributions is their abundance of illustrative tables drawn from a wide range of fields of research endeavor. These tables give emphasis to the generality of application of statistical techniques, and to the diversity of types of distributions encountered by scientists in widely separated fields of specialization. J-shaped, U-shaped, ogive, Poisson, and hypergeometric curves are among those discussed and illustrated.

The chapters on probability and sampling are likely to be of particular interest to social statisticians. Those who have turned in the past to Yule and Kendall's *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* for its lucid treatment of the conditions of simple sampling will find the present volume no less valuable. It has, for example, an excellent discussion of the effects upon sampling statistics of non-replacement of items drawn from a larger universe, a modification of the conditions of simple sampling that is often present in research studies undertaken by social statisticians. There is also a concise discourse on the problems involved in preparing tables of random sampling numbers, and on the use of some of the standard tables of this type available to statisticians.

The chapters on correlation discuss the mathematical theory not only of product-mo-

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ment correlation, but also of coefficients of association, colligation, contingency and rank order. Zero order, partial, multiple, tetrachoric, and biserial correlation are given consideration in this comprehensive analysis of correlational techniques. Among the most useful contributions of these chapters to social statisticians are likely to be the coefficients of consistence and of agreement, techniques particularly applicable in problems where the method of paired comparisons is employed in an effort to secure scaled values for items. There is a very good treatment of the logic underlying statistical inconsistencies often met in the application of the method of paired comparisons of the study of preferences, as, for example, in studies of social distance calling for choices among paired alternatives.

Notes and references at the ends of the chapters will be helpful to readers in search of more extended treatment of special topics and to those seeking information on the historical development of statistical techniques. Each chapter contains a number of exercise problems to be worked out by readers who want to test their comprehension of the mathematical theory of statistics. This important volume is virtually certain to become a standard reference work and belongs in every college library serving advanced students of statistics.

RAYMOND F. SLETTO

University of Minnesota

China Enters the Machine Age. By KUO-HENG SHIH. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944. 206 pp. \$2.50.

For many weeks in the autumn of 1940 the author of this book investigated one of China's great factories. It is government-owned and operated. All the shops turn out electrical supplies. Three of the shops are located in the same compound in Kunming and where there are about 500 workers. The writer of this review visited the factory in 1943. Kuo-Heng Shih, the author of this study, lived with the workers in their dormitories. He clearly established intimate relations with them and entered into their personal as well as their industrial problems. In this volume the results of the investigation of the labor situation in this factory are described, particularly with reference to efficiency, wages, social amenities, morale, the workers, budgets and the problem of labor supply. It is one of the best case studies of Chinese factory life to date. In closing the author faces helpfully one of China's central

problems; namely: that of balancing a developing agriculture with greatly expanded industry.

EDWARD C. CARTER

Institute of Pacific Relations

Rebel Without Cause: The Hypnoanalysis of a Criminal Psychopath. By ROBERT M. LINDNER. Introduction by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944. 296 pp. \$4.00.

The subtitle of this little volume summarizes well its contents. It is the more or less *verbatim* record of the psychoanalysis of a psychopathic criminal in which hypnosis was used as part of the analytic technique. The analyst then brought about a gradual merging of the interview material from the ordinary psychoanalytic sessions with that obtained from the subject under hypnosis. A concealed microphone carried questions and answers to a stenographic staff and a complete record was thus obtained. To the edited record of these interviews has been added some thirty pages of introductory theoretical material and a brief five-page "Summary." Important questions, and the significance of some of the answers as well as other interpretive comments are elaborated in italics in the text or appear as footnotes to the interview material.

Space does not permit retelling the remarkable story unfolded by this case. Suffice it is to say that the subject, a young man of average intelligence, physically healthy and without disease (except for a serious eye disorder giving him the appearance of being practically blind and officially diagnosed as Nystagmus, Strabismus, Ptoxis) had a long record of official and unofficial misconduct due, according to the theory of this book, to the deep-seated mental conflict caused by having unwittingly witnessed his parents engaged in the act of sexual intercourse. The remarkable thing about this, brought out into the clear light of open memory recall by the technique of hypnoanalysis, is that this unfortunate traumatic shock took place when the subject was eight months old—an infant awakening in his cradle at the side of the parental bed.

Many readers will be inclined to question the validity of an analysis that depends on the recall and interpretation of events occurring at such an early age. How the sexual act of the parents could have any "meaning" to an infant of eight months, either as a suggestion of abuse and an occasion for fear, or the reverse, is

difficult to understand or to reconcile with other results from experimental psychology. Some readers will wonder if the questions and conversations of the analyst may possibly have given concealed clues to the interpretation wanted. Without claiming technical competence, the present reviewer nevertheless inclines to genuine skepticism on this point.

The theoretical chapters that accompany the case analysis tell in brief and clear form the essentials of at least one version of the Freudian theory of criminal behavior. Whether or not the case presented is accepted at face value as interpreted by the author, the book nevertheless adds an interesting and controversial chapter to criminological literature.

GEORGE B. VOLD

University of Minnesota

The Cultural Background of Personality. By RALPH LINTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1945. Pp. viii + 157. \$1.50.

These five essays by a professor of Anthropology at Columbia University deal, as the title promises, with the cultural basis of personality. The central concept, that personality is mainly an individual embodiment of culture, is approached from the somewhat different vantage in each of the essays. The first touches on the socialization of the individual by his society into its culture; the second treats of culture itself; the third, "Society and Culture Participation," discusses the phenomenon of social differentiation; the fourth is an attempt to describe the nature of personality and to deal with the fact that personality is manifest in social interactions; and in the final essay the role of culture in the formation of personality is assessed. "In Summary," concludes the author, "culture must be considered the dominant factor in establishing the basic personality types for various societies and also in establishing the series of status personalities which are characteristic for each society."

These essays are written in simple, clear, and charming prose, and the esthetic satisfaction that the reviewer derived from reading them somewhat offset his disappointment with the contents. The sociologist will find nothing new and a good deal that is far too old in them. Chapter II, in which Linton deals directly with his own field, is as fine a brief statement of the concept of culture as is to be found in the literature, although one might wish that he had defined, rather than just synonymized (p. 32), the term "configuration," a term that appears

frequently in various connections throughout the book.

But for the rest, the author has succeeded only in demonstrating the evil of that which he endeavors to correct—the provincialism of the various social science disciplines. His attempt to bring to the study of personality the findings and viewpoints of anthropology is largely invalidated by anthropological provincialism. He speaks at times of "Personality Psychology"; but nowhere is there the slightest sign that he is aware of the vast amount of research and analysis that has been going on under the aegis of social psychology. Three of Thomas' and Znaniecki's "four wishes" are discussed in some detail (pp. 8-10), and their value-attitude concept is rehashed (pp. 110-117); but of more recent work in social psychology there is no reflection. And when Linton refers to sociological concepts, e.g., his discussion of the limits of the "institutional" approach (p. 56), he reveals what might be described untechnically as institutional provincialism.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

Adult Education for Democracy in Family Life. By MARY S. LYLE. Ames, Iowa: The Collegiate Press, 1944. 161 pp. \$2.25.

Doctor Lyle has assembled a good deal of interesting and valuable data about homes and family life in a rural Iowa community, but it is doubtful whether her theoretical analyses are always sound. For example, one of the six criteria she establishes for democratic family life is that "the physical environment promotes healthful living and stimulation to intellectual growth" (p. 12). It is, of course, true that the physical environment of the family is an important influence in its functioning. But it is perfectly possible for an autocratic family to have a fine house and for a democratic family to live in a hovel. Again, her second criterion, "the pattern of family living furnishes stimulation to meeting new situations and problems with foresight and intelligence" (p. 14), might well characterize a highly Prussianized family, while a democratic family might be quite the opposite. In other words, many of the criteria for democracy which Doctor Lyle sets up are quite arbitrary, good enough goals in themselves, but in no sense essentially characteristic of democracy *per se*. Fortunately the theoretical inconsistency in no way detracts from the value of the facts collected nor from the wholesomeness of the suggestions she makes

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for improving family life by means of adult education in the community.

JESSIE BERNARD

Lindenwood College

Climate and the Energy of Nations. By S. F. MARKHAM. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. 236 pp. \$3.50.

The present publication places its author among the extremists of the school of geographic environmentalism. Ellsworth Huntington's provocative theories of climate and civilization must rate conservative beside Markham's study of climate and its effect on man. The author's main contention is "that civilizations develop where people enjoy for the moment the best natural climates and have the greatest control over it," provided that they also possess the numerical strength necessary to resist invasions. The climatic optimum is defined as the mean temperature range between 60°F and 76°F, with an average humidity varying between 40 and 70 per cent, coupled with gentle breeze and an agreeable sunshine. Such a climate permits the maximum output of "national energy" as measured by the per capita income of a nation, its infant death rate, per capita volume of foreign trade, and, less precisely, its territorial expansion. Areas which satisfy those climatic conditions most completely are located near the 70 annual isotherm. Yet, regions with lower temperature ranges and higher degrees of humidity may attain the climatic optimum by means of artificial heating. Thus, with the northward expansion of Mediterranean civilization the history of higher cultural attainments follows in the wake of evolving increasingly effective heating methods. Each invention which increased the number of winter days during which ideal or near ideal indoor temperatures and conditions of humidity could be maintained expanded the total yearly output of human energy—the motor power of civilization. Thus, the evolution of heating engineering offers a clue to the understanding of the history of culture. A few samples may illustrate the operation of what may be called Markham's climatic interpretation of history.

Before the development of artificial heating or cooling systems the favorable climates of Sumeria and Egypt predestined those countries to become the centers of civilization in the Old World. "It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the rise of Greece and Rome should follow the advent of heating systems and that the fall of the Roman Empire should follow their

abandonment." The conquering Barbarians developed a superior climatic control by moving south in the winter and north in the summer and thus acquired an added degree of vigor, while the Romans grew increasingly lazy as they let their heating system fall into disuse. "It is interesting to note that the Renaissance was preceded or accompanied by the development of the fireplace and chimney." In the same fashion the author attributes the rising power of Japan to its improved heating methods. Chile's high infant death rate is, by the same token, due to its insufficient coal production, while the same phenomenon in the South of the United States is related to a hot and humid climate. High rates of literacy in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and California are deduced from the favorable climates of those states. In a still wider application of his theory, the author alludes to a possible correlation between Oswald Spengler's 1,400 years' cycle of civilizations and the assumed climatic cycles of 1,330 years in the Mediterranean region and of 1,500 years in Mesopotamia. Additional space is devoted to an analogous explanation of regional differences in health and wealth in England, the phenomenon of "poor whites" in the South, in the Bahamas, and in Africa, and to the cultural perspective of air conditioning and related developments.

That climate has a direct effect on human behavior may not seriously be doubted. What the author seems to disregard is the fact that the most significant climatic influence on culture takes effect not through biological channels but through the medium of agriculture and communication. Such an oversight should not be possible since the studies of Ratzel, Vidal de la Blache, and Hahn's *History of Plough Cultivation*, to mention only early landmarks in human geography. It is bad enough that the author basis his inquiry on a rigid and uncritical use of such words as civilization and "national energy." It is worse that he digresses into the field of economic history without consulting its students for important details of historical context. But it is hardly understandable that a writer of unquestionable erudition and a versatile command of a wealth of solid material should attack the subject of human geography without benefit of available experience in the critical application of physical and physiological data to human culture.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Mental Abnormality and Crime. (English Studies in Criminal Science, Vol. 2.) New York: The Macmillan Co., 1944. 340 pp. \$3.75.

Several English researchers and practitioners join hands to contribute their observations and thinking on the mental aspects of criminal and delinquent behavior. In consequence, the book is composed of several important essays listed as follows: "Mental Variations and Criminal Behavior" by J. R. Rees, "Psychoses and Criminal Responsibility" by Angus MacNiven, "Psychoneuroses and Criminal Behavior" by R. D. Gillespie, "Mental Deficiency and Criminal Behavior" by E. O. Lewis, "Psychopathic Constitution and Criminal Behavior" by D. K. Henderson, "Functional Nervous Disorders after Injury" by D. R. MacCalman, "Physical Factors and Criminal Behavior" by W. Norwood East, "Alcoholism and Criminal Behavior" by G. M. Scott, "Sexual Offenders" by East, "Certain Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency" by J. D. W. Pearce and Emanuel Miller, "Reactions to Military Life and Criminal Behavior" by G. de M. Rudolf, "The Diagnosis and Treatment of Delinquency" by Edward Glover, and Report on the Work of the Exeter Child Guidance Clinic" by R. N. Craig.

The contributions are uniformly good. In general, the psychiatry and psychology represented herein are realistic. No hobbies such as frustration and aggression, emotional insecurity, emotional deprivation are ridden to death as is sometimes true among more radical orthopsychiatrists of modern vintage. The contributors seem to be well aware of important sociological aspects of crime and delinquency.

While no new departures or revolutionary formulations are made in the essays taken individually, their combined effect gives the very satisfying impression that the contributors have a well-balanced, down-to-earth grasp of the mental aspects of crime and delinquency.

From the standpoint of the average university student and the above average jurist, prosecutor, police official, correctional institution administrator, probation or parole officers, the cumulative effect of reading such a volume might be that mental abnormality and crime are practically synonymous. Psychoses, neuroses, and mental deficiency are quite infrequently related to the total volume of crime and delinquency. Psychopathic personality traits are suspected of having a much more frequent connection with crime. This is a matter that the editors should have guarded against.

Finally, another collective impact of the essays is to focus attention of officials on the efficacy and importance of treatment of offenders rather than the antique punitive methods of handling.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Ohio State University

The Spirit of Russian Economics. By J. F. NORMANO. New York: The John Day Company, 1945. 170 pp. \$2.00.

This is not exactly a scholarly book. The title and the author's Preface disclaim any attempt at a complete history of Russian economic thought. Yet it is easier to determine what the book is not than what it is. The author clearly intends to give the broad sweep of economic doctrines in old Russia and the Soviet Union. To do this he proposes to sketch the influence of English, French, and German economic scholarship, the Russian adaptations, and the indigenous Russia developments. After an introductory chapter the book contains three chapters on foreign influences, two on pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary "native currents," and a brief conclusion.

The early chapters represent a fairly informal summary of foreign economic doctrines in very general terms, together with a multitude of names, occupations, and circumstances of Russians who exhibited familiarity with these doctrines by their allegiance or opposition. In these chapters there is precious little of the "spirit" of Russian economics. There is more in the succeeding chapters on native developments. Here, as elsewhere, no attention is given to the evolution of economic theory, but only to the elaboration of opinions and ideals about the nature of actual and desirable economic and social systems. The author with becoming candor notes that he has given no attention to business-cycle theory in Russian economics. It is also to be noted that he gives no specific attention to market theory, monetary theory, labor theory, location-of-industry theory, or any other branch of economic science. The book's detail is of names and dates and places, not of economics as a field of scholarship.

In short, at the end of the book the reader is faced with the rather embarrassing question, "Why was this book written?" As a history of economic science in Russia it will not serve as anything but a casually introductory note. As a summary of Russian politico-economic doctrine built around some central theme (as would seem to be implied by the title, Preface, and

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conclusion) it does not fill the bill. If the whole sweep of Russian economics has any single spirit, it does not appear from a prosaic roll-call of Russians who wrote books about Adam Smith. If the purpose of the book is to demonstrate the conclusion, asserted at the beginning and end and advertised on the jacket, that Bolshevism is simply a natural development of native currents, the purpose is not fulfilled. This bit of superior historical hindsight does not follow from evidence presented here or elsewhere. Certainly modern official Soviet theory in economics had some pre-revolutionary forerunners. In a field of scholarship notably eclectic, any other theory could claim equal precedent. On the other hand, the author, in the best section (chap. vi) of a not wholly good book, does a considerable service in pointing out once more the distinctively Russian features of the revolution and subsequent developments. This chapter is freer than the others of inconsequentialities and has fewer of the italicized foreign words and phrases borrowed from six languages to express simple ideas better said in English. By these and other signs the author here appears to be on somewhat surer ground and to be depending less on carrying a doubtful point by a ringing phrase.

In the absence of an unquestionably good book on Russian economic doctrine, this one will serve as a space-filler. It may be read with some profit in connection with recent studies of productive and administrative development in the Soviet Union.

WILBERT E. MOORE

Princeton University

A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico. Compiled by LYLE SAUNDERS. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1944. Pp. xviii + 528. \$5.00.

This long-expected large tome (about 7 by 10 inches) contains 374 pages of titles (more than 5,335 in number, many of which are unpublished), 16 pages of Author Index (more than 2,700 authors, and 42 pages of Subject Index (highly analytical and useful)—all following the orientation-core of the work, the "Dictionary Guide" (96 pp.), in which 263 selected references are indexed in great detail, and which is followed by the titles themselves (distinguished, according to merit, by from none to three asterisks). The remaining references are grouped under 11 "Supplementary Bibliographies" (Bibliographies and Indexes; Pre-

Spanish Period; Apaches; Navajos; Pueblos; Indians, General; Spanish-Colonial and Mexican Periods; American Frontier Period; Spanish-Americans and Mexicans; Fiction and Drama; General) and "Addenda." References included in the Selected Titles (indexed in the Dictionary Guide) are those "which have the most relevance for a study of cultural relations in New Mexico" (p. xii). Grouping for the Supplementary Bibliographies, as can be seen from their headings, follows types of materials (bibliographies, fiction), historical periods, culture groups, and remainders—"General." (If, however, any reader should search for an item under the wrong category, he can still find it with the help of the Subject Index.) A definition of "cultural relations" is not given; the book sins, if at all, on the side of generosity rather than narrowness. There is no list of sources which have been examined systematically, and perhaps a few more pages of such information would have been in order. Yet this reviewer, for one, has not been able to think of any title in the Spanish-American field, in which he has some bibliographical experience, which he has not subsequently found taken care of in the *Guide*, and his impression is that students of other fields will have a similar experience. The *Guide* is probably as complete a bibliography as several years of expert work can produce.

Professor Joaquin Ortega, in the Introduction, lists ten merits of this work, and this reviewer agrees that the book, of which both the School of Inter-American Affairs and The University of New Mexico Press may justly be proud, has indeed all of them, with perhaps that of orienting the prospective as well as expert student and of saving him time and worry being the greatest. This reviewer wishes that plans for keeping the *Guide* up to date may materialize, and that it may be imitated elsewhere.

KURT H. WOLFF

Earlham College

The Sociology of Literary Taste. By LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. 78. \$2.00.

Since the days of Taine and Lalo, who were influenced by Comte and Durkheim respectively, it has been a rather common practice to couple literature to the "times." But much of this analysis has contented itself with what was not much more than the vague and empirically unconvincing observation that a work of art was related to the "spirit of the age." To demolish this concept and all that it implies is what the

author here proposes. Since society is not a perfectly integrated whole, there is not one spirit of the age but many. Just as every interest group is likely to call itself the voice of the people, so each is likewise certain that it manifests the spirit of the age. The solution of the confusion is, according to Professor Schücking, a pluralistic approach. There are many groups, each with its respective tastes and "taste-carrier type," which often, in an ethnocentric way, impose themselves on the rest of society to establish the official or "good" taste. This taste is often sedulously cultivated by the taste-conserving forces of school and critic who may have a vested interest in its cultivation.

The romantic school of thought, which still prevails in many circles, espouses the reverse position. It asserts that it is the "great" art which survives, while this functional approach claims "that which survives will be regarded great." It is therefore necessary to examine the social forces which promote such survival, i.e. to develop a sociology of the formation of literary taste.

The author cannot, of course, claim that he has done so. The book is rather a provocative essay, illustrative and anecdotal, analyzing the relation of taste to the economic and other non-aesthetic forces. Most sociologists would have very little quarrel with the principles here enunciated. Many of us could cite studies in the fields of the arts which could have profited greatly from the lesson here advanced. Since this essay lies in the twilight zone of two more or less autonomous fields of learning, it may be pondered most seriously by those who need it the least.

The original German work was published in 1931. The translation, with the exception of a few expressions, is an excellent one and is now included in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.

JOHN H. MUELLER

Indiana University

Pioneering in Penology: The Amsterdam Houses of Correction in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By THORSTEN SELLIN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 125 pp. \$2.50.

This clear, well-documented account of the rise of reformatory incarceration in the Netherlands opens with a description of the brutalities which were taken for granted in the late medieval and the early modern period. Justice in

Amsterdam was administered by a high bailiff. A confession of guilt was required for indubitable proof, and when not forthcoming invited the torture chamber. Sellin presents samples of torturings. The confessed thief, heretic, murderer might be sentenced to organized brutality: lashings, mutilations; or to public insult: drumming out of the city; or to condemnation to the galleys; or to incarceration, at his own expense, in a city gate-house; or, finally, to death; hanging, beheading, burning at the stake, drowning, live burial, breaking on the wheel.

Into this conglomerate of terror, horror, brow-beating, slaughter, and stupidity the reformatory prisons of Amsterdam (*rasphuis* and *spinhuis*) were infused. *Pioneering in Penology* enables one to see, not only the imaginative grasp of the early advocates of institutional treatment for law-breakers; but also the difficulty, then as now, of building institutional programs according to plan. We read of visionaries whose dreams did not come to pass. We make the acquaintance of Jan Laurenszoon Spiegel, who in 1589 wrote a *Memorandum* concerning the founding of a prison (*tuchthuis*) for the magistrates of what was then the first city of the Netherlands; and of Dr. Sebastian Egbertzoon who prevailed upon them to implement this *Memorandum*. The idea and the program spread to Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Bremen, Hamburg, Danzig, and Stockholm. Venice may also have felt the influence of this innovation. The *tuchthuis* was not brought to New Amsterdam but Dutch houses of correction did influence the English Penitentiary Act of 1779 and thus, indirectly, the penal institutions of the United States and Canada. Persons interested in a detailed description of the prisons of Amsterdam should consult the volume itself.

One is struck by the modern ring of Spiegel's *Memorandum*, which Sellin rightly characterizes as "one of the greatest documents in the history of penology" (p. 29), and amazed at the features actually found in this first Continental prison: constructive employment, craft training, wages for prisoners, a physician, a school teacher, books. Much of the labor was burdensome, the contract system prevailed at times; but a fine start had been made. It becomes clear that if later developments had proceeded at the same pace as earliest beginnings then Barnes and Teeters would not be advocating in their *New Horizons in Criminology* the complete abolition of reformatory incarceration.

The volume is likely to prove an inspiration

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to administrators since it reveals foundations and gives perspective to their own efforts. Students of social change and of institutional growth will find here a very competently done case study. The historian will appreciate the presentation in English of materials formerly available only in other European languages. Sellin, once again, has put scholars in his debt. The bibliography and critical footnotes are to be highly commended.

C. W. TOPPING

University of British Columbia

The Handbook of Industrial Psychology. By MAY SMITH. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944. 304 pp. \$5.00.

Industrial psychologists have developed a high degree of consensus as to what problems they shall study and as a result the content of various books in the field shows almost a standard organization. This uniformity seems to grow mainly from the acceptance of the significance of individual differences and the attempt to describe and measure these differences so that individual workers may be selected, trained, placed, and supervised in such a way as to secure maximum efficiency.

Dr. May Smith's book follows the pattern closely so that there is the customary discussion of fatigue, incentive, working environment, employee selection, training, employee attitudes, and problem employees. Considerable emphasis is given to the health and physical fitness of workers. This accent springs from the background of the writer who is an English woman occupying the post of Senior Investigator to the Industrial Health Research Board and Lecturer in Medical Industrial Psychology at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. She has made many research contributions in the field of medical industrial psychology.

American psychologists would be critical of the meagre section devoted to employee testing. There is no mention of personality tests.

Dr. Smith is familiar with the work of Mayo and Roethlisberger at Harvard and has apparently been influenced by the sociological point of view. She says, "Each person, in addition to being an individual, is a member of one or more groups, and there is little doubt that a group thinks, feels, and acts differently from the individual. Groups have individuality, a personality of their own, and if we knew enough we might be able to grade them as we grade people." With this acknowledgment and

the stating of a few implications, the writing quickly turns back to the examination of individual differences.

The book has a clearly defined organization and contains numerous examples of experimental work. There is no index and no bibliography.

DELBERT C. MILLER

Kent State University

Tabio: Estudio de la Organizacion Social Rural. By T. LYNN SMITH, JUSTO DIAZ RODRIGUEZ and LUIS ROBERTO GARCIA. Ministro de la Economia Nacional, Bogota, Colombia. 124 pp. 1944.

This publication reports the results of a social survey of a rural community (Tabio) in the Republic of Colombia, and so far as this reviewer is aware, is the first of its kind to emanate from a Latin-American country. For this reason it is something of a milestone in the development of sociology in our sister republics to the south, for, no doubt, there will be many more such studies to follow.

The study is the direct result of the contact of Professor Lynn Smith with his Colombian collaborators; a contact implemented through the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the Department of State. Similar contacts through these agencies have already been established with Argentina (Carl C. Taylor), Brazil (T. Lynn Smith), Mexico (Nathan L. Whetten), Peru and Bolivia (C. P. Loomis and Olen Leonard), and others are being planned.

The plan of the present study was developed by Professor Smith, with the object, not only of securing more precise information regarding social organization of a typical rural Colombian community, but also to familiarize the local collaborators with the methods of sociological investigation which have been developed in the United States. Thus the plans for the survey were carried out by Doctor Rodriguez and Doctor Garcia.

The population of the community is analyzed according to occupation, race (*blanco* and *mestizo*), age and sex, marital condition, literacy, formal schooling, fertility and mortality, and migration. Patterns and types of settlement, division and distribution of the land, tenure, classes, distance of homes from the central plaza, and other features of land-people relations are described.

Detailed analyses are also made of family composition, together with a description of the role of the church and the school in community

life. Then follows a treatment of the different groups in the community (based upon race, religion, locality, occupation, education, and politics), and social stratification and mobility.

A final section of the main body of the report presents data on standards and levels of living, with special reference to housing and household conveniences and diet. The report is well illustrated, with photographs of people, houses (interior as well as external appearance), and other scenes in the community. An appendix contains several demographic maps of Colombia and charts showing the method of land division and description.

The U.S.A. sociologist will be impressed by the similarities as well as the differences between this community and those in this country.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

American Medical Practice in the Perspectives of a Century. By BERNHARD J. STERN. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1944. 156 pp. \$1.50.

Concisely, in less than 150 pages, Mr. Stern presents the changing character of medical practice in relation to other social and economic changes in American life. He shows how recently medicine has advanced from speculative theories, bizarre cults, and apprenticeship to clinical practice based on anatomy, bacteriology, biochemistry, and psychiatry with a long and arduous course of professional education. He traces the development of medical specialties and group practice, the urban concentration of practitioners and agencies, the relative neglect of rural dwellers, Negroes, and people with small incomes. On the other hand, he assembles evidence that need of medical care is greatest precisely where it is least available.

All these currents in American medicine are presented against a background of general social and economic changes. In some cases he shows a very direct connection between several phases of our cultural development—for example, automobiles, fewer horses in the cities, fewer flies, less gastro-intestinal infection; or, in the opposite direction, industrialization, urbanization, congested tenements, respiratory diseases.

It is worthy of note that this very informing and readable little book was written by a sociologist at the request of the New York Academy of Medicine. It is to be followed by others less general in character, but, we trust, equally valuable for the interpretation of medical care as an integral part of an ever-changing culture.

It should be much more useful to sociologists than Sigerist's interesting *Civilization and Disease* (1943).

STUART A. QUEEN

Washington University

Plenty of People. By WARREN S. THOMPSON. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jacques Cattell Press, 1944. 246 pp. \$2.50.

This small and popularly written volume is intended to introduce the lay reader to the problems of population growth and their implications for the future. It is essentially a broad interpretative outline of world demography. A sketch of the growth of the population of the earth and its major regions since 1800 is followed by a more detailed but still non-technical explanation of levels and trends in birth and death rates, the relation of war to population growth, and the future population of major regions. These six primarily factual chapters are followed by a positive statement on the political and economic implications of the shifting demographic balance of the West versus the East, the industrial versus the agrarian nations. Population distribution, migration, and the social and economic effects of the age changes and slower population growth of the Western peoples are then considered. Final predominantly evaluative chapters consider qualitative aspects, population policies in foreign countries, and considerations for the formulation of a population policy for the United States.

The popularization of science is always a difficult task, especially when it extends beyond facts to their policy implications. Population students reading *Plenty of People* may question the selection of materials, the emphasis on topics, or the policy interpretations, but all will be interested in the book as a positive and straight-forward statement of the problems and policies in world demography as they appear to Warren Thompson after over three decades of study both here and abroad. The real evaluation of a volume such as this should not be based on the agreement or disagreement of fellow students, but rather on the extent to which it achieves its avowed goal of increasing public awareness of world population trends and stimulating constructive thinking concerning the implications of those trends for the individual welfare and the political stability of the world of the next generation. Only some future historian of the demographic aspects of the postwar decades can make this final evaluation.

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In the meantime, the fact that a study of population is included in a popular "Science for War and Peace Series" indicates the rapid maturity and increasing acceptance of demography as a social science.

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Japan: A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography. By GLENN THOMAS TREWARTHA. Madison: The University of Wisconsin press, 1945. 607 pp. \$5.00.

This large volume (more than 600 pp.) treats the geography of Japan in great detail. It contains 281 figures and 163 tables. A large part of the figures are maps showing not only the physical and climatic features of the country but the agricultural and industrial products of all its regions and sub-regions. The numerous pictures also help the reader to visualize the topography, the climate and the economy of Japan and give some assistance in understanding how the mass of the people live. In addition, the many tables give precise information regarding production, trade, climate, etc., of most of the more important cities as well as of larger areas.

To one who is interested primarily in population growth and changes in Japan the most significant chapters are those dealing with her population and economy, the means available for the support of her growing numbers. Chapters IV (Economic Minerals), V (Population and Culture), VII (Agriculture and Fishing), VIII (Manufacturing) and IX (Communications and Trade) contain most of the information needed by one who would understand the economic problems facing pre-war Japan. The conclusion that she was, even then, a poor country highly dependent on trade and steadily becoming more so, is inescapable. Although Dr. Trewartha does not emphasize the importance

of these facts in making a settlement of the war it is obvious that they are of the utmost significance. It seems to the reviewer rather unfortunate that the meaning of the facts adduced is not more explicitly stated. The position of Japan in a world economy or even in an Asiatic economy is not definitely pointed up in these chapters as it might well have been. It is, perhaps, unfair to suggest that this is a shortcoming because the author makes no pretense at giving us more than a geography and quite possibly has stretched the definition of geography in going as far as he has.

But in spite of this failure to point up his information it is fortunate that such a detailed study of the economic geography of Japan has come out at this time. It is much needed and should be of great value to those who will be responsible for the determination of Japan's economy during the period of Allied occupation and control. It should assist materially in aiding our military and later our civil authorities in taking a realistic view of Japan's needs and of the means of supplying them, although there is some danger that the wealth of detail may not get through to the busy men who have to determine policies.

One never reads such a book without being impressed again with the need for universal standards of weights and measures. Even when care is taken to specify the unit of measurement as is done here and when the reader is fairly familiar with the different measures in use, it is at least mildly irritating to find *Cho* and *hectare* and *acre*, and other similar measures in almost constant use. Would it not be better to try to reduce all weights and measures to those commonly in use in the United States until such time as we have sense enough to adopt the metric system?

WARREN S. THOMPSON

Scripps Foundation

BOOKNOTES

Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean: Discussion of a Peasant Programme. London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1944. 96 pp. \$1.00.

In the "Foreword" is announced the aims of this book: "... a Programme expressing the hopes and aspirations of the Peasant Movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece, as well as some expert examination of the prob-

lems of rural communities in the countries concerned."

State Enabling Legislation for Non-Profit Hospital and Medical Plans, 1944. By ODIN W. ANDERSON. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Public Health, 1944. 56 pp.

This is the first of a research series in Public Health Economics published by the University of Michigan and treats of "... the question of

voluntary versus compulsory health insurance, the details of organization and administration and such matters as the sponsorship of existing and proposed plans and the services to be included or excluded." (Foreword)

The History of American Trotskyism. By JAMES P. CANNON. New York: Pioneer Publishers. 1944. 256 pp. \$2.75.

The history of the origin and development of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. Cannon is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers (Trotskyist) Party, and, understandably, the subject matter is treated from this point of view.

The Cultural-Cooperation Program 1938-1943. Prepared by HALDRE HANSON. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944. 71 pp. \$1.15.

A report of the development of the Division of Cultural Relations established in the Department of State in 1938 with information on travel and study grants, the use of libraries, books, radio, and motion pictures as instruments for increasing intercultural understanding, and an account of educational and professional relations. Although directed primarily to reporting on activities on the Pan-American scene, some attention is given to countries of the eastern hemisphere.

Demographic Studies of Selected Areas of Rapid Growth. Proceedings of the Round Table on Population Problems of the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, April 12-13, 1944. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1944. 158 pp. \$1.00.

This monograph is devoted to discussions of demographic problems of some of the densely populated countries of the Far East, eastern and southern Europe, and the Mediterranean area. The papers presented here by such well known demographers as Irene Taeuber, Kingsley Davis, Wilbert E. Moore, Ernest Jurkat, Clyde V. Kiser, W. Wendall Cleland, and Frank W. Notestein, were originally published in the July and October 1944 issues of the Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*. The principal considerations are: the population structure of areas in which the maintenance of the balance of life rests upon uncontrolled fertility and mortality; the existing population policy in these areas; and suggestions and proposals for future policy.

Occupational Planning for Tomorrow. By NORBERT F. DOUGHERTY. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1944. 155 pp. \$2.75.

This little volume by the former president of General Motors Institute of Technology attempts to deal with the problem of "selection, training, and promotion of executives in industry" (p. 147). Bound in the book are several examples of practical rating cards, history sheets, and personnel organization charts. One advantage of this effort is that it has developed out of the practical problems of industry rather than the college classroom.

A Study of Personal and Social Organization. An Explorative Survey of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By FRANK GOODWIN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 197 pp. No price indicated.

This doctoral dissertation is the result of a "participant-observer" survey of a rural area, and poses as its problem the question "what cultural patterns and values promote and abet personal adjustment?" (p. 8).

Journal of the Second Session of the UNRRA Council and Related Documents of the First Session. Washington: United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 1944. 182 pp.

A republication of the eleven issues of the daily *Journal* printed during the Second Session of the UNRRA Council including a record of the proceedings, plus an Appendix containing a directory of the second session of the Council, cumulative guide to documents of the Second Session, report of Combined Production and Resources Board, and resolutions on policy of the First Session of the Council.

Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community. By HAROLD F. KAUFMAN. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Memoir 260, 1944. 46 pp. Gratis.

Setting as its central problem "the description of the social classes in a New York rural Community (unidentified)," this doctoral dissertation study using formal interview and participant-observer techniques also outlines a method of defining and measuring the concept of "class."

Navaho Witchcraft. By CLYDE KLUCKHOHN. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard Uni-

versity, Vol. XXII, No. 2. Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1944. 149 pp. \$2.25.

This monograph contains field materials obtained largely from interview of the practices of witchcraft among the Navaho, plus "certain inferences and interpretations as to the dynamics of Navaho social organization" (p. 4).

Neighborhood-Community Relationships in Rural Society. By JOHN H. KOLB and DOUGLAS G. MARSHALL. Madison: Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin, Research Bulletin 154, 1944. 55 pp. Gratis.

The results of a series of field surveys of Dane County, Wisconsin, made at 10-year intervals since 1921, together with intensive studies of sample cases, directed toward outlining the changing structure and patterns of neighborhood groups.

The Territorial and Occupational Mobility of Washington Youth. By PAUL H. LANDIS. Pullman: State College of Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 449, 1944. 66 pp. Gratis.

This monograph is the third in the series dealing with the youth of the State of Washington. It describes patterns of territorial mobility, factors associated with occupational mobility, and types of employment of the older brothers and sisters of eighth-grade pupils enrolled in school in the spring of 1942.

The Economics of Control: Principles of Welfare Economics. By ABBA P. LERNER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 428 pp. \$3.25.

Operating under the premise that "the fundamental aim of socialism is not the abolition of private property but the extension of democracy" (p. 1), Lerner sets himself the task of elucidating the advantages of steering the middle course between 100 per cent collectivist ideology and *laissez-faire* capitalism as it now exists, by analyzing the merits of first, a completely collectivistic society, and then, a completely capitalistic society as means of best serving the social interest. Since it is primarily an economic treatise, this volume will provide a stimulating challenge to those whose thinking operates within the system of economic theory, either capitalistic or collectivistic. Readers outside this system will find unanswered the question which perhaps deserves greater primacy, namely: What is the social interest?

The Golden Wing: A Family Chronicle. By LIN YHEH-HWA. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944 (mimeographed). 175 pp. \$2.00.

Written in a narrative style, this anthropological account of a Chinese family studied by the participant-observer method, offers an unusual opportunity for Occidental students to "get the feel" of the Oriental pattern of family organization, and at the same time gain some insight into the effect of the war on China as a whole.

Revolt in Paradise. By ALEXANDER MACDONALD. New York: Stephen Daye, Inc. 1944. 288 pp. \$3.00.

Journalistically written, this is an account of the system of American exploitation and control of the Hawaiian Islands. The main emphasis is placed on the methods used by the Island's five controlling corporations in gaining monopolistic control of the three main industries: sugar, pineapple, and the tourist trade; and of their methods of maintaining control through "ownership" of the legislature, newspapers, utilities and small commerce down to that of prostitution. But the author foresees a possible upset of the status quo through changes brought by the war. Most notable of these is the temporary upset of paternalism resulting from the increasing organization of labor.

Welfare in the British Colonies. By L. P. MAIR. London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1944. 115 pp. \$1.50.

Aimed "to describe how the varied aims of modern social policy are put into practice" (p. 7) in Africa, Malaya, Hong Kong, Ceylon, Fiji and the Western Pacific Islands, and The West Indies, with respect to Education, Labour, Health, and Social Welfare, this monograph reflects some of the underlying attitudes taken by empire countries toward colonial peoples.

Journey through Chaos. By AGNES E. MEYER. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. 388 pp. \$3.00.

This is a reprinting with some revision of a series of articles which appeared originally in the *Washington Post*, plus an Introduction and Conclusion. The articles are drawn from the observations of Mrs. Meyer on her visits to 26 war centers in the United States during 1943-44, and bear the burden of showing the chaos wrought by the ideology of individualism on the war situation which requires the close integration

of modern society. The need for greater control and closer cooperation on the part of federal, state, and local agencies of social welfare and planning serves as the objective of these reports of disorganized areas.

The American Standard of Living: Earning and Spending Our Money. By FAITH WILLIAMS and MARY P. KEOHANE. Washington: National Education Association, 1944. 60 pp. \$30.

Urban and Rural Living: Planning Post-War Ways of Life for American Youth. By LOUIS J. WIRTH and RAY LUSSENHOP. Washington: National Education Association, 1944. 56 pp. \$30.

These two publications of the National Council for the Social Studies are devised to enable secondary-school teachers to keep abreast of recent research findings on current social problems, and includes teaching aids giving the application of the topics.

Labor Problems of Africa. By JOHN A. NOON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 144 pp. No price indicated.

This publication number 6 in a series of *African Handbooks* is devoted to the question of the "adequacy of African manpower for meeting the requirements of present and future enterprise" (p. 135).

Cooperativas de Crédito: Estatutos de la Cooperativa Federal de Crédito de los Estados Unidos. By ROBERT C. JONES. Washington: Division of Labor and Social Information, Pan American Union, 1944. 15 pp.

Low-Cost Housing in Latin America. By ROBERT C. JONES. Washington: Division of Labor and Social Information, Pan American Union, 1943. 20 pp.

The Railwaymen's Pension and Retirement Fund of Argentina. By ROBERT C. JONES. Washington: Division of Labor and Social Information, Pan American Union, 1944. 15 pp. \$10.

These three papers reveal something of the efforts that have been made on the part of Latin American countries to publicize to residents of both North and South American countries their respective policies and statutes with reference to public welfare programs.

Mexicans in the United States: A Bibliography. Compiled by ROBERT C. JONES, Research Assistant, the Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan American Union. Washington: Pan American Union, 1942. 14 pp. \$10.

This bibliography is intended as a supplement to that published in 1929 by Emory S. Bogardus on the migration of workers between Mexico and the United States, and contains general references to more recently published material; plus specific references dealing with urban settlements and industrial labor, agricultural labor, friction and the social problems of the Mexicans in the United States.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work. Published for the National Conference of Social Work. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 492 pp. \$5.00.

A compilation of 45 papers selected from those presented at the Seventy-first Annual Meeting of the Conference held in May 1944. Articles deal primarily with pressing problems of the war and those which may arise in the peace to come. The growing body of knowledge of technical experience in social work methods and recent conceptual developments are presented as they refer to wartime needs. Organized activities with youth, war services, methods and programs of various areas, training problems, community organization and public administration are some of the topical headings of interest and timeliness. The 1944 conference program, business organization for both years 1944 and 1945, business sessions of the conference and the constitution and by-laws are included in the appendix.

The Origin and Function of Culture. By GÉZA RÓHEIM. New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, 1943. 107 pp. \$2.50.

This monograph consists of three essays devoted to "an attempt to explain civilization or culture as manifestation of the Eros" (p. v.). There is frequent reference to and citation from Freud's two works dealing with aspects of the same problem; namely, *Civilization and Its Discontent* and *Totem and Taboo*. The present volume is primarily an elaboration of the earlier work—a restatement of the Freudian view of culture origins.

Rural Case Work Services. By MARJORIE J. SMITH. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1943. 62 pp. \$5.00.

By the director of the School of Social Work of the University of British Columbia, this pamphlet deals with the problem of the individualization of welfare problems with respect to eligibility for agency services, and

offers a number of case histories as illustrations of particular problems.

Maintenance of Union Membership. By BRYCE M. STEWART and WALTER J. COUPER. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, 1943. 83 pp. \$1.25.

The purpose of this monograph is to "examine the position of the War Labor Board on union maintenance, to determine in how far the objectives of this provision have been realized in companies directed to embody it in their agreements, and to learn the attitudes and policies of employers and unions regarding this form of union security as applied in such companies" (Foreword), by studying the union security cases acted upon by the National War Labor Board and its predecessor, the National Defense Mediation Board, up to July 1, 1943, and the reports of fifty-nine companies employing close to a million workers.

Sociology of the Renaissance. (Translated by W. L. Luetkens.) By ALFRED VON MARTIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. 100 pp. \$2.50.

This book in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction was originally published in German in 1932. Analyzed in terms of Max Weber's "ideal type" the period of the Italian Renaissance provides the author an opportunity to apply his system of concepts describing the social processes and structures operating within a self-contained historical period.

Inter-American Affairs: 1943. Edited by Arthur P. WHITAKER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 287 pp. \$3.00.

A third symposium in an annual series designed to promote inter-American understanding, this volume attempts to show that the preoccupation of the United States in the European and Pacific war theaters created a reduction in effective leadership and an attendant loss in the heretofore increasing feeling of unity among the American states. The creation of favorable balances of trade in Latin American countries, the necessity in many cases for self-sufficient economies, plus the lack of unanimity with respect to cooperation with the Allied Powers are presented as fostering a political nationalism which further reduced pan-American unity. The implications of this cleavage on the projected world organization are emphasized.

For the reader interested in this book as a reference work, five maps, a short topical

bibliography, and a chronology of events for the year 1943, plus several tables dealing with commercial and financial aspects of pan-American economy, will prove useful.

Cooperation in Crime Control: 1944 Yearbook of the National Probation Association. Edited by MARJORIE BELL. New York: National Probation Association, 1945. 320 pp.

This yearbook of the National Probation Association includes papers dealing with the problem of crime and delinquency prevention in war time and of the necessity of securing the cooperation of the community and special social service agencies in combatting the problem of criminality.

They See for Themselves: A Documentary Approach to Intercultural Education in the High School. By SPENCER BROWN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 147 pp. \$1.25.

This report on experiments in intercultural and interracial education on the secondary-school level offers illustrations and projects that may be of interest to college teachers as well.

A Social History of the American Family. By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945. Three volumes in one: I, 348 pp; II, 390 pp; III, 410 pp. (Original copyright 1917.) \$7.50.

This is a welcome reprinting of a famous work of a generation ago now long out of print. There has been no revision or rewriting. The old three-volume work has been bound in one volume, but the pagination is still that of the original set. Through the years these volumes have continued to be important sources for anyone interested in the American family. Reprinting at this time assures their availability in the years ahead.

Democracy under Pressure: Special Interests vs. the Public Welfare. By STUART CHASE. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. 142 pp. \$1.00.

Readers familiar with Stuart Chase's frank attacks on what he believes to be the forces undermining American democracy, will find in this book the same energetic treatment—this time of the problem of pressure groups. Pulling few punches, Chase levels against Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Agriculture, and gives the lay reader some insight into the formation, operation, and effects of pressure groups, together with suggestions as to means of combatting them.

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